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THE

OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XIII

GRENFELL AND HUNT

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

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EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

(GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH)

Graeco-Roman Memoirs

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

BY

BERNARD P. GRENFELL, D.Litt.

HONORARY PROFESSOR OF PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, AND FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

AND

ARTHUR S. HUNT, D.Litt.

PROFESSOR OF PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, AND FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

WITH SIX PLATES

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PREFACE

THE present volume consists of literary texts, like Parts V and XI. The papyri of Lysias (1606), Hyperides (1607), Aeschines Socraticus (1608), and an oration on the cult of a Roman Emperor (1612) belong to the first of the three large literary finds of the 1905–6 season, which produced 841–4, &c., and has now been completely published; those of Ephorus (1610), a work on literary criticism (1611), and Herodotus (1619) belong to the second, which is not yet exhausted. Most of the other texts were found in the early part of the same season.

Prof. Hunt's continued absence from Oxford on military duties has prevented him from taking an active part in the decipherment and editing of this volume, but he has revised some of the papyri and the proofs. We are much indebted to Mr. E. Lobel, who has made numerous suggestions in the reconstruction and interpretation of the new classical texts, and to Dr. J. V. Bartlet for similar help in regard to the new theological texts. The assistance on various points afforded by Mr. T. W. Allen, Profs. J. Burnet, J. B. Bury, and A. E. Housman, Dr. C. Hude, Mr. H. Stuart Jones, Sir William M. Ramsay, Prof. M. Rostowzew, and Sir John E. Sandys is acknowledged in connexion with the individual papyri.

The two sections consisting of Contracts and Private Accounts, which were omitted from Part XII owing to want of space, are held over for Part XIV, which will contain non-literary documents and is in active preparation. We hope to issue it in the course of 1919, and that Mr. J. de M. Johnson's edition of the valuable Theocritus papyrus discovered by him at Antinoë will be issued simultaneously.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,
SEPTEMBER, 1918.

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE general method followed in this volume is the same as that in Parts I–XII. **1604** (Pindar) is printed in dual form, a literal transcript being accompanied by a reconstruction in modern style. In the other texts the originals are reproduced except for separation of words, capital initials in proper names, expansion of abbreviations, and supplements of lacunae. A reconstruction in modern form of the more complete portions of **1606–7** and **1610–12** is also given. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ a deletion in the original. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri in this volume and Parts I–XII, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns. In the case of vellum fragments the terms recto and verso are used with reference to the upper and under sides of a leaf, not to the hair-side and flesh-side.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are practically those adopted in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, viz.:—

Archiv = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.
P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri, Vols. I–II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
P. Brit. Mus. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I–V, by Sir F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell.
P. Fay. = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.
P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I–II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
P. Hibeh = The Hibeh Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I–XII, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
P. Ryl. = Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library, Vol. I, by A. S. Hunt.
P. S. I. = Papiri della Società Italiana, Vols. I–V, by G. Vitelli and others.

I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

1594. New Recension of Tobit xii.

6·2 × 7·5 cm. Late third century. Plate I (recto).

A nearly complete leaf of a diminutive vellum codex, containing Tobit xii. 14–19 in a recension which is not extant. Another fragment of a novel version of this popular apocryphon (ii. 2–4, 8) was published in **1076**, but is later in date (sixth century) than **1594**, which is written in a small neat uncial hand of an unusually early type, resembling the hands of **656** and **1007** (both Genesis: Part iv, Plate ii and Part vii, Plate i). **656** is probably earlier than A. D. 250 and likely to be somewhat older than **1007** and **1594**, being written on papyrus and having no contractions, whereas in the other two fragments *θεός* is contracted; but, like **1007**, **1594** was probably written in the second half of the third century. The leaf when complete was nearly square, and of approximately the same size as P. Ryl. 28 (Part i, Plate v), a fourth-century treatise on *μαντική*: for other miniature codices of biblical texts cf. **842** and **1010**. No punctuation is discernible, but a diaeresis over an initial *υ* apparently occurs on the verso, which is much damaged and difficult to decipher. There are traces of what may be lines of ruling in the margin of the recto, which is probably the hair-side.

There are two main Greek recensions of Tobit, one represented by the Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ), the other by the Cod. Vaticanus (B) and Cod. Alexandrinus (A). The recension of ℵ, which is fuller and more picturesque than that of BA, is tending to be regarded as the earlier. Besides these two there is for chs. vi. 9–xiii. 8 a third Greek redaction represented by three cursive MSS., and from vii. 11 supported by the Syriac version, which before that point agrees with BA. This third recension occupies an intermediate position, being allied to ℵ but less verbose, and is sometimes supported by the Old Latin version, which, like the Aramaic and earlier Hebrew versions, generally supports ℵ. The view put forward in **1076** int., that **1076** belongs to the third Greek recension partially preserved by the cursives, was adopted in the latest and only fully equipped edition of Tobit, that of Mr. D. C. Simpson in Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.* i. 174 sqq.; cf. *Journ. of Theol. Stud.* xiv. 516 sqq.

Leaving undecided the question whether the original language of Tobit was Greek or Semitic, he thinks that the book was composed in Egypt not long before 170 B.C., and that the recension of ℵ is the nearest approach to the original, while that of BA did not reach its present form until about A.D. 180, and the third recension was later still.

The conditions of the problem are somewhat altered by the discovery of **1594**, which is on the whole much nearer to BA than to ℵ or the third recension, here fortunately extant. In vv. 14–17, where the two main recensions do not greatly differ, **1594** agrees with BA against ℵ in the insertion of ἐκ (l. 3), ἁγίων (l. 3; ἁγίων ἀγγέλων BA; ἀγγέλων ℵ), προσαναφέρουσιν (l. 3; add. τὰς προσευχὰς τῶν ἁγίων BA; παρεστήκασιν ℵ), the omission of αὐτῶν (l. 8), and the insertion of ἔσται (l. 12); against these can be set only the agreements with ℵ in the form ἔπεσαν (l. 8), the insertion of ἅπαν[τα in l. 13 (πάντα ℵ; om. BA), and καί for BA's ὅτι in l. 9. In vv. 18–19, where the text of ℵ is longer than that of BA and differently arranged, the new fragment agrees with BA in having ἐμαυτοῦ, not ἐμοῦ, in l. 15 and in constructing πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας with ὠπτανόμην ὑμῖν (ll. 18–19), whereas ℵ connects the first phrase with the preceding εὐλογεῖτε or with an added repetition of it, αὐτῷ ὑμνεῖτε. Against this must be set the partial agreements between **1594** and ℵ as to the verb in l. 16 (ἤμην μεθ' ὑμῶν: om. B; ἦλθον A), and the occurrence in **1594**. 20 of ἐθεωρεῖτέ με (cf. Old Latin *videbatis me*) corresponding to ℵ's θεωρεῖτέ με. With the peculiar readings of the third Greek recension **1594** agrees against the other two in respect of the omission of Σάρραν in l. 2, and of ἀγγέλων in l. 3, the insertion of ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν in l. 9, and the reading θεοῦ in l. 6 (θεοῦ without τοῦ μεγάλου the cursives; cf. *Dei* Old Lat.). But elsewhere the third Greek recension follows ℵ rather than **1594**, and is shorter even than BA in v. 19.

The new recension has also a number of peculiar readings, such as the constant use of καί as a connecting particle, where BA vary the monotony by δέ (l. 12; om. ℵ) or ὅθεν (l. 17; om. ℵ) or the absence of connexion (l. 19), and especially the new arrangement of vv. 18–19, which avoids both the obvious omission in B and the redundancy of ℵ at this point. On the whole **1594**, while belonging to the BA type of text, is distinctly better. Is this superiority to be explained as resulting from a revision of the BA text in the light of ℵ, or from the priority and greater purity of the text illustrated by **1594**, of which BA is a later form? The second hypothesis seems to us much the more probable for several reasons. In the first place **1594** is an older MS. than B or A. Secondly, the constant use of καί in **1594** points to a more archaic text than that of BA. Thirdly, the text of BA, where in comparison with that of **1594** it is markedly inferior, as in vv. 15 and 18, seems to have arisen out of the text of **1594**,

not vice versa. In v. 15 the employment of *ἅγιος* by BA three times within the same sentence, referring to different persons in each case, is intolerable, and the addition of *τὰς προσευχὰς τῶν ἁγίων* looks like a Christian gloss on *προσαναφέρουσιν*, which is intelligible by itself, while BA's *ἁγίων ἀγγέλων* (*ἀγγέλων* ℵ; *ἁγίων* **1594** and the third recension) may be the result of a conflation of readings or of a confusion between *αγιων* and *αγλων*, a contraction of *ἀγγέλων* found e.g. in **1603**. 12. In v. 18 **1594** has *ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὅτι τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χάριτι ἤμην ἀλλὰ τῇ θελήσει τοῦ θεοῦ* corresponding to B's *ὅτι οὐ τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χάριτι ἀλλὰ τῇ θελήσει τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν* without a verb, which is supplied by A (add. *ἦλθον*). The phrase 'your God' is very inappropriate in the mouth of an angel, and it is noticeable that the third recension, which at this point follows BA rather than ℵ, ignores *ὑμῶν*. The explanation is probably that *ὑμῶν* had really nothing to do with *θεοῦ*, but is the survival of *ἤμην μεθ' ὑμῶν* found in both **1594** and ℵ, and that A's *ἦλθον* is merely a correction inserted to restore the defective grammar. **1594**'s phrase *οὐχ ὅτι...* in place of BA's (*ὅτι*) *οὐχὶ...* gives a more literary touch to the passage, and might easily cause difficulty to some one who did not understand that *ἤμην* was to be supplied with *ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν*, with the result that a simpler construction was substituted. Fourthly, the result of an attempt to combine the merits of BA and ℵ is partly extant in the third recension, and though that edition now appears to have taken into consideration the text represented by **1594** as well as those of ℵ and BA (cf. p. 2), it does not coincide with **1594**, and is in fact nearer to ℵ than to **1594** or BA, just like **1076**. That fragment on account of its affinity to ℵ is still to be considered as probably a specimen of the missing portion of the third recension, not as part of the recension illustrated by **1594**. We are therefore disposed to regard **1594** as an earlier form of the BA text, which developed out of **1594** partly owing to certain editorial changes, partly owing to corruptions introduced in the normal course of transmission.

There remains the question whether **1594** or ℵ more closely represents the original text of Tobit. Owing to the small size of the fragment it is difficult to speak with certainty; but with regard to the characteristics of the BA text which Simpson (*Journ. of Theol. Stud.* xiv. 527–8) selects as evidence for the later date of BA it is noticeable that (1) **1594** does not tend, like BA, to avoid *καί* as a connecting particle, (2) if **1594** is less redundant than in ll. 14–18, in ll. 19–20 it has a repetition which is absent from ℵ, and (3) the two uncommon words in **1594**, *προσαναφέρουσι* and *ὠπτανόμην*, and the unusual construction in ll. 14–16 are absent from ℵ, though as a rule the BA text is more commonplace than that of ℵ. The ℵ text is certainly not conspicuously better than that of **1594** in these six verses. The addition in ℵ of *Σάρραν* before

τὴν νύμφην in l. 1 and the omission of ἐκ in l. 3 and ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν in l. 9 are no improvements; ἁγίων without BA's ἀγγέλων in l. 3 and προσαναφέρουσι without BA's τὰς προσευχὰς τῶν ἁγίων are hardly open to the inferences which Simpson (*op. cit.* 521) draws from a comparison of the 'angelology' of BA and ℵ concerning the later character of BA. The use of θεοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου in l. 6 in place of ℵ's κυρίου perhaps illustrates the 'tendency to emphasize the transcendental character of the Godhead' which according to Simpson (*loc. cit.*) serves to distinguish BA from ℵ, and ὀπτάνεσθαι (l. 19), as he pointed out, came to have a definite Christian connotation, being found in Acts i. 3 with reference to the appearances of Christ after the Resurrection. But the word occurs in the LXX and Ptolemaic papyri, and curious linguistic affinities between Tobit xii. 16–22 and the Gospels (cf. Simpson's n. *ad loc.*) are traceable in the text of ℵ as well as BA, so that the mere occurrence of ὀπτάνεσθαι does not prove much. The reading of **1594** in v. 18 ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὅτι τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χάριτι ἤμην is defensible against ℵ's ἐγὼ ὅτε ἤμην μεθ' ὑμῶν οὐχὶ τῇ ἐμῇ χάριτι ἤμην μεθ' ὑμῶν: but the arrangement of vv. 18–19 as a whole is more satisfactory in ℵ; for πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας is more appropriate in conjunction with εὐλογεῖτε than with ὠπτανόμην, and the repetition εὐλογεῖτε . . . ὑμνεῖτε in ℵ is probably better than the repetition ὠπτανόμην . . . ἐθεωρεῖτε in **1594**, which here combines the two verbs found singly in ℵ and BA, though whether ℵ's θεωρεῖτε is superior to ἐθεωρεῖτε in **1594**, here supported by the Old Latin, is very doubtful. In l. 3 ἀγγέλων (ℵ) is perhaps preferable to ἁγίων (**1594**), the two words being liable to confusion as soon as contractions came into use (cf. p. 3).

Our conclusion therefore is that, while the recension of ℵ is probably older than that of BA, ℵ had before the age of the Antonines, perhaps even from the earliest times when Tobit was read in Greek, a rival in the shape of the text to which **1594** belongs. This was largely superseded after A. D. 200 by the BA recension, which was based on it; but traces of the influence of the **1594** text are discernible in the Old Latin version, which was made probably before 300, and the **1594** text remained sufficiently important by the side of the BA text for it to be used in the compilation of the intermediate text found in the cursives and **1076**, which was designed (in the fourth or fifth century?) as a compromise between the various conflicting versions of the story. The result of the discovery of **1594** is, we think, to diminish somewhat the superiority in point of age which can be claimed for the recension of ℵ over others, and to increase the respect due to both BA and the third recension, as being either based upon or, in the case of the third recension, influenced by an older recension which is independent of ℵ and may well contain some original elements.

Recto.

[σα]σθαι σε και την νυμ xii. 14
φην σου εγω ειμι Ραφαηλ 15
εις εκ των ζ̄ αγιω[ν] οι προσ
αναφερουσιν και εισπορευ
ονται ενωπιον της δο
ξης του θῡ του μεγαλου
και εταραχθησαν οι β̄ και 16
επεσαν επι προσωπον
[ε]πι την γην και εφοβη
[θησαν και ειπεν αυ]τοις 17
[μη φοβεισθε ειρηνη]

Verso.

υμιν εσται και τον θ̄ν̄ [ευ
λογειτε εις τον απαν[τα
αιωνα εγω μεθ υμων 18
ουχ οτι τη εμαυτου χαρι
τι ημην αλλα τη θελη
σει του θ̄ῡ και αυτον ευλο
γειτε και πασας τας ημ[ε 19
ρας ωπτανομην ὑμ̣ι̣[ν
και εθεωρειτε με οτ[ι 20
ου[κ εφαγον ουδε επιον
1 line lost

In place of a collation, we give the new text side by side with the three extant Greek versions and the Old Latin in full.

1594.

14 ἰάσα]σθαί σε καὶ τὴν νύμφην σου. 15 ἐγώ εἰμι Ῥαφαήλ, εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἁγίων οἳ προσαναφέρουσιν καὶ εἰσπορεύονται ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου. 16 καὶ ἐταράχθησαν οἱ δύο καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐφοβή[θησαν. 17 καὶ εἶπεν αὐ]τοῖς [Μὴ φοβεῖσθε, εἰρήνη] ὑμῖν ἔσται· καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖτε εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα. 18 ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὅτι τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χάριτι ἤμην, ἀλλὰ τῇ θελήσει τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ αὐτὸν εὐλογεῖτε. 19 καὶ

BA.

14 ἰάσασθαί σε καὶ τὴν νύμφην σου Σάρραν. 15 ἐγώ εἰμι Ῥαφαήλ, εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἁγίων ἀγγέλων οἳ προσαναφέρουσιν τὰς προσευχὰς τῶν ἁγίων καὶ εἰσπορεύονται ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἁγίου. 16 καὶ ἐταράχθησαν οἱ δύο καὶ ἔπεσον (-σαν A) ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ὅτι ἐφοβήθησαν. 17 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Μὴ φοβεῖσθε (add ὅτι A) εἰρήνη ὑμῖν ἔσται· τὸν δὲ θεὸν εὐλογεῖτε εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, 18 ὅτι οὐ τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χάριτι, ἀλλὰ τῇ θελήσει τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν (add ἦλθον A)· ὅθεν εὐ-

א.

14 ἰάσασθαι καὶ Σάρραν τὴν νύμφην σου. 15 ἐγώ εἰμι Ῥαφαήλ, εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων οἳ παρεστήκασιν καὶ εἰσπορεύονται ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης κυρίου. 16 καὶ ἐταράχθησαν οἱ δύο καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν. 17 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Μὴ φοβεῖσθε, εἰρήνη ὑμῖν· τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖτε εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα. 18 ἐγὼ ὅτε ἤμην μεθ' ὑμῶν οὐχὶ τῇ ἐμῇ χάριτι ἤμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ θελήσει τοῦ θεοῦ· αὐτὸν εὐλογεῖτε, κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας

πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὠπτανόμην ὑμῖν καὶ ἐθεωρεῖτέ με ὅτ[ι] οὐ[κ ἔφαγον . . . λογεῖτε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. [19] πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὠπτανόμην ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγον . . . αὐτῷ ὑμνεῖτε. [19] καὶ θεωρεῖτέ με ὅτι οὐκ ἔφαγον . . .

Cursives 44, 106, 107.

[14] ἰάσασθαί σε καὶ τὴν νύμφην σου. [15] ἐγώ εἰμι Ῥαφαήλ, εἷς τῶν ἁγίων τῶν παρεστώτων ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. [16] καὶ ἐταράχθησαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὅτι ἐφοβήθησαν (ὅτι ἐφ. om. 44). [17] καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Μὴ φοβεῖσθε, εἰρήνη ὑμῖν ἔσται· εὐλογεῖτε τὸν θεόν, [18] ὅτι οὐ τῇ ἐμῇ χάριτι ἀλλὰ τῇ θελήσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἦλθον. [19] καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγον . . .

Old Latin.

[14] *tentare te et Sarram nurum tuam.* [15] *Ego enim sum Raphahel, unus de septem angelis sanctis qui adsistimus et conversamur ante claritatem Dei.* [16] *Et conturbati sunt utrique et ceciderunt in faciem et timuerunt.* [17] *Et dixit illis Raphahel: Nolite timere, pax vobiscum, Deum benedicite in omni aevo.* [18] *Etenim cum essem vobiscum non mea gratia eram sed voluntate Dei: ipsi ergo benedicite, et omnibus diebus decantate ei. Et videbatis me quia manducabam . . .*

3. προσαναφερουσιν: this word occurs twice elsewhere in the LXX, Judith xi. 18 ἐλθοῦσα προσανοίσω σοι and 2 Macc. xi. 36 ἃ δὲ ἔκρινε προσανενεχθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

11–12. That οτι should be read in l. 11 before ειρηνη with A is improbable, the line being long enough without it, and similar words of connexion being avoided elsewhere in the fragment; cf. p. 3. It is just possible that υ]μειν should be read instead of υμιν in l. 12.

13. εις: επι might be read, but εἷς is regularly used in this phrase in the LXX and N. T.

15. ουχ οτι: κ is the only alternative to χ and the vestige of the next letter suits ο, but not ε, so that ουκετι is an unsatisfactory reading, even if it suited the context. The traces of τι are slight, but suggest no other appropriate reading, so that ουχ οτι is practically certain; cf. int.

20–1. οτ[ι | ου[κ (so ℵ) is very uncertain, but suits the slight traces somewhat better than κα[ι | ου[κ (BA) or ου[κ ε|φα[γον.

1595. Ecclesiasticus i.

18 × 11·2 cm. Sixth century.

A leaf from a papyrus codex, containing the first nine verses of Ecclesiasticus in the LXX, written with brown ink in large heavy round uncials of the type represented by e. g. Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 44*a* (*Iliad* xxii), probably in the sixth century, to which documents found with or near **1595** belong. The numbering of the pages, if it existed in the position occupied by the numberings

in e. g. **1598**, is not preserved, so that it is uncertain whether this is the first leaf of the codex or only of a section. The beginnings of verses are marked by fresh lines which project slightly, and the ends by high stops apparently throughout, though owing to injuries to the surface these are not always discernible. The usual contractions for *θεός*, *κύριος* (but not in l. 1), and *οὐρανός* occur.

Verse 7 *ἐπιστήμη σοφίας τίνι ἐφανερώθη καὶ τὴν πολυπειρίαν αὐτῆς τίς συνῆκεν*; which is generally regarded as a doublet of v. 6, is omitted, as in the chief uncial MSS.; but v. 5 (*πηγὴ σοφίας λόγος θεοῦ ἐν ὑψίστοις, καὶ αἱ πορεῖαι αὐτῆς ἐντολαὶ αἰώνιοι*) is retained, as in some cursives and versions (cf. ll. 16–19, n.), though this too has generally been rejected as a doublet of the preceding verse; cf. Box-Oesterley in Charles's *Apocr. and Pseudepigr.* i. 318. The resemblance, however, between vv. 4–5 is much less marked than that between vv. 6–7, and since v. 4 ends with *αἰῶνος*, v. 5 with *αἰώνιοι*, the hypothesis that the disappearance of v. 5 is an error due to homoioteleuton has, we think, more to justify it than the view that it is a Pharisaic addition. In other respects the text of **1595** is not remarkable, the spelling and arrangement agreeing with ℵAC rather than with B. A note at the bottom of the recto perhaps refers to an omission. This is the first papyrus of Ecclesiasticus.

Verso.

[πα]σα σοφια παρα κυριου κ[αι 1
[μ]ετ αυτου εστιν
[ει]ς τον αιωνα·
[αμ]μον θαλασσων και 2
[σ]ταγονας ὕετου και
[η]μερας αιωνος τις
[ε]ξαριθμησει·
[υψ]ος οὐνου και πλατος 3
[γ]ης και αβυσσον και
σοφιαν τι[ς] εξιχνι
[α]σει·
[πρ]οτερα παντων εκτι 4
[σ]ται σοφια·
[και] συνεσις φρονησε
ως εξ αιωνος·
[πη]γη σοφιας λογος θυ 5

Recto.

εν ὑψιστοις·
και αι πορiαι αυτ[ης εν
τολαι αιωνιοι[·
ριζα σοφιας τιν[ι απε 6
καλυφθη·
και τα πανουργημ[ατα
αυτης τις εγν[ω·
εις εστιν σοφος [φοβε 8
ρος σφοδρα·
καθη[μ]ενος επι τ[ου
θρονου αυτου[·
κς αυτος εκτισεν [αυτην ? 9
και ειδεν και εξη[ριθμη
σεν αυτην·
και εξεχεεν αυτη[ν επι
παντα τα εργα [αυτου·
[επανω . αυτην]

9–10. *και σοφιαν*: om. Syriac and Latin versions.

16–19. This verse (5), omitted by the uncial MSS., is found in cursive 248 and others and in the Syro-Hexaplar, Latin, and Sahidic versions; cf. int.

22. *πανουργημ[ατα*: so ℵAC; *πανουργευματα* B.

23–4. Between these lines several cursives (not 248), the Syro-Hexaplar, Latin, and Sahidic versions insert verse 7 *ἐπιστήμη σοφίας κτλ.*; cf. int.

24. *σοφος*: this word, though found in the Greek MSS., is omitted by Box-Oesterley, *l. c.*, following the versions. In place of ll. 24–5 the Syriac and Arabic versions have 'One (there is) who hath dominion over all her treasures'.

28. $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$: B alone of the Greek MSS. assigns this word to the previous verse. That *αυτην*, the reading of the MSS., was added at the end of the line is not quite certain, though without it the line would be rather short; cf. l. 33, n.

29. *ειδεν*: so ℵC; *ιδεν* BA.

33. Whether this line, which was written in uncials by a different hand in darker ink but intentionally obliterated, has any connexion with the main text is uncertain. The readings of all the letters except the first four are very doubtful, and there are several ink smudges on both sides of the papyrus which seem to be accidental. If *επανω* is right, the reference is perhaps to an omission by the first hand, i. e. of *αυτην* in l. 28 rather than *αυτου* in l. 32.

1596. St. John's Gospel vi.

10·7 × 5·2 cm. Fourth century.

A fragment from the lower part of a leaf of a papyrus codex of St. John's Gospel, containing vi. 8–12 and 17–22, but with the loss of slightly more than half the lines. It was found together with third–fourth century documents, and probably belongs to the early or middle part of the fourth century, the script being a medium-sized semiuncial. Ἰ(*ησοῦ*)*ς* is the only contraction, and one high stop occurs (l. 41); pauses are indicated by a slight space in l. 46, and probably by a larger space in the lacuna in l. 49. The papyrus, though hardly so old as **208** (parts of i and xx) and **1228** (xv. 25–xvi. 31) and not very correctly spelled, is interesting on account of its early date, being probably older than **847** (ii. 11–22 on vellum). The text is eclectic in places (e. g. l. 22), as often happens in early Biblical MSS., but tends, like **847**, to support B rather than ℵ, to which **208** and to a less degree **1228** incline, or A. There are 8 agreements with B in the 10 places where B and ℵ* differ, and in only 1 out of 5 places, where A differs from both ℵ and B, does **1596** apparently support A (l. 21, n.). A new order of words seems to occur in a passage where all three of the chief MSS. differ (ll. 40–1, n.).

Recto.

14 lines lost

15 [*αυτου Ανδρεας ο αδελφος Σιμω*]*νος Πετρο*[*υ* vi. 8

[*εστιν παιδαριον ωδε ος ε*]*χει πεντε αρτους κ*[*ρι* 9

[θινους και δυο οψαρια αλ]λα ταυτα τι εστιν ει[ς
[τοσουτους ειπεν ο $\overline{Ις}$ ποιησ]ατε τους ανθρωπου[ς 10
[αναπεσειν ην δε χορτ]ος πολυς εν τω τοπ[ω
[ανεπεσαν ουν οι] ανδρες τον αριθ[μον
[ωσει πεντακισ]χιλειοι ελεβεν ου[ν 11
[τους αρτους ο $\overline{Ις}$ κ]αι ευχαριστησας εδω[
[κεν τοις ανακειμ]ενοις ομοιως και ε[κ
[των οψαριων οσο]ν ηθελον ως δε
[ενεπλησθησαν] λεγει τοις μαθηταις α[υ 12

Verso.

13 lines lost

[χοντο πε]ραν τ[ης θαλασσης εις Καφαρναουμ 17
[κ]αι σκοτια ηδη εγ[ε]γ[ονει και ου προς αυτους
[ε]ληλυθει ο $\overline{Ις}$· η τε θ[αλασσα ανεμου μεγα 18
[λο]υ πνεοντος διεγει[ρετο εληλακοτες ουν 19
ως σταδιους εικοσι π[εντε η τριακοντα θεωρου
[σι]ν $\overline{Ιν}$ περιπατου[ντα επι της θαλασσης
και ενγυς του πλοι[ου γινομενον και
εφοβηθησαν ο δε [λεγει αυτοις εγω ειμι 20
μη φοβεισθαι ηθε[λον ουν λαβειν αυτον 21
εις το πλοιον και ε[υθεως εγενετο το πλοιον
επι της γης εις η[ν υπηγον τη επαυ 22
ριον ο οχλος ο εστ[ηκως περαν της θαλασσης
ϊδεν οτι πλοιαριον [αλλο ουκ ην εκει ει μη εν

16–18. The restorations of these lines, based on ℵ and B, are quite long enough, even allowing for the slope of the column towards the left, which is noticeable on the verso. Hence it is very improbable that **1596** agreed with A and many later MSS. in adding *εν* after *παιδαριον* in l. 16 and *δε* after *ειπεν* in l. 18.

19. *χορτ]ος πολυς*: so nearly all MSS.; *πολυς χορτος* A.

20. *ουν οι] ανδρες*: this, the reading of ℵB &c., suits the space better than *ουν οι αν(θρωπ)οι ανδρες* (A &c.). Some MSS. omit *ουν* or *οι*, and **1596** may have had *οι αι(θρωπ)οι ανδρες*, omitting *ουν*.

21. [*ωσει* (A and most MSS.) suits the length of the lacuna better than *ως* (ℵB).

ελεβεν: l. *ελαβεν*.

ου[ν: so ℵ^{c}ABD and some others; *δε* ℵ* &c.

22. *ευχαριστησας*: so AB and most MSS.; *ευχαριστησεν και* ℵD &c.

εδω[κεν: so ℵD and some others; διεδωκεν AB and most MSS.

23. και: so ℵAB and most MSS.; δε και D &c.

40. [κ]αι σκοτια ηδη εγ[ε]γ[ονει: so AB and most MSS.; κατελαβεν δε αυτους η σκοτια ℵD.

40–1. ου προς αυτους [ε]ληλυθει ο Ι(ησου)ς: ουπω εληλ. Ι(ησ.) προς αυτ. ℵ; ουπω προς αυτ. εληλ. ο Ι(ησ.) B; ουκ εληλ. προς αυτ. ο Ι(ησ.) A. There is not room for ουπω here.

41. τε: so most MSS.; δε D &c.

42. διεγει[ρετο: so B &c.; διηγειρετο ℵAD &c.

43. ως: so ℵB and most MSS.; ωσει AD &c.; om. a few MSS.

σταδιους: so ℵ$^{a\ vel\ b}$AB and most MSS.; σταδια ℵ*D.

43–4. θεωρου[σι]ν: the supplement in l. 43 is rather long; and possibly ορω[σι]ν occurred, though no such variant is known here. Before Ι(ησου)ν the MSS. insert τον, but there is certainly not room for [το]ν here.

46. ο δε: so all Greek MSS. except ℵ, which has και.

47. φοβεισθαι: l. φυβεισθε.

49. επι της γης: so ℵ^{c}ABD and most MSS.; επι την γην ℵ* &c.

[υπηγον: so all MSS. except ℵ*, which has υπηντησεν. That reading is possible here, for the supplement (13 letters) is 3 or 4 letters shorter than would be expected, but there may well have been a considerable space before τη επαυριον, which begins a new section.

51. ιδεν: so ℵD &c. (ειδεν); ειδον AB &c.; ιδων some MSS.

1597. Acts of the Apostles xxvi.

5·7 × 2·8 cm. Late third or fourth century. Plate I (verso).

This scrap from the bottom of a leaf of a papyrus codex is tantalizing, for it belongs to an abnormal recension of Acts. The script is a good-sized, somewhat irregular uncial, which is certainly not later than the fourth century and may belong to the latter part of the third. Μ has the middle brought down below the side strokes; the top stroke of Ξ is curved and the middle of Ω is slurred. θεός is contracted, as usual. Whether stops were employed is uncertain. All that survives is 7–10 letters from the beginnings or ends of 10 fairly long lines which covered xxvi. 7–8 and 20, and the reconstructions of the lacunae are in several places doubtful; but enough remains to show that the text presented many novelties. In ch. xxvi D (Codex Bezae), the principal rival of the current text, is defective; but in ll. 3 and 8 there are strong indications of agreements between **1597** and some of the variants preserved in Old Latin MSS., so that the fragment seems to represent a very ancient Greek text akin to the 'Western', apparently avoiding some of the difficulties of construction and sense presented by the current text in this chapter. That a piece of the 'Western' text of Acts should make its appearance in Egypt is an interesting circumstance, but perhaps not very surprising. The reading of D in Matt. iii. 16–17 occurred in the Oxyrhynchus Irenaeus fragment (**405**;

Part iv, pp. 264–5), and in other papyrus or vellum fragments of Acts from Egypt occasional agreements with D are found (in P. Amh. 8 at ii. 13, and in von Soden's a^8 at iv. 32).

Verso. Plate i.

το δωδεκ[αφυλον ημων εν εκτε 7
νια νυκτ[α και ημεραν λατρευει εν ?
ελπιδι κ̣[αταντησαι περι ης νυν ?
ενκαλου[μαι υπο Ιουδαιων ει ? 8
ο θ̄ς̄ νεκρ̣[ους εγειρει . . . . . .

Recto.

[απειθης τη ουρανιω οπτασια α]λλα τοις ε[ν 20
[Δαμασκω πρωτον τε και Ιερο]σολομοις κα[ι
[τη Ιουδαια και τοις εθνεσιν] εκηρυξα [
[μετανοειν και επιστρεφειν ε]πι τον θ̄ν̄ [
[αξια της μετανοιας ε̣ργα πρ]α̣σσοντας [

1–3. The ordinary Greek text is ἐν ἐκτεν(ε)ίᾳ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν λατρεῦον ἐλπίζει καταντῆσαι (-ήσειν B)· περὶ ἧς ἐλπίδος ἐγκαλοῦμαι, but Cod. Gigas (13th cent.) which has *instanter nocte ac die deseruiunt in spe peruenire, de qua spe nunc accusor* in place of the usual *nocte ac die deseruientes sperant deuenire, de qua spe accusor*, seems to be based on a Greek text closely allied to **1597**. ελπιδι in l. 3 makes a verb, not a participle, necessary in l. 2; but whether εν should be inserted at the end of l. 2 is doubtful, for it produces 20 letters in the lacuna, whereas in l. 1 there are only 16 in the corresponding space. Line 1 is, however, very short compared with the lines on the recto, and possibly a dittography or unknown variant occurred in the lost part of it. If so, there was no appreciable difference in the length of the lines on the two sides of the leaf, and not only is there plenty of room for λατρευει εν in l. 2, but ελπιδος, for the omission of which there is no parallel, can be restored instead of νυν in l. 3, and βασιλευ inserted in l. 4 (cf. n.). But on the whole we prefer on account of l. 1 to suppose that the lines on the verso are somewhat shorter than those on the recto.

4. After Ιουδαιων, before which many cursives insert τῶν, most Greek MSS. except A insert βασιλεῦ; but Cod. Gigas omits *rex*, and there may well have been a blank space before v. 8. There is no room for βασιλευ here without creating a great difficulty in the restoration of l. 1; cf. the preceding n. How **1597**'s recension of v. 8 was arranged is not clear. The Greek MSS. all have τί ἄπιστον κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ ὁ θεὸς νεκροὺς ἐγείρει, which is reproduced in the Latin, and the omission of a line containing τι . . . νμιν is an easy hypothesis. But in view of the other new readings in **1597** the passage may represent a genuinely different recension of a verse which comes into the context somewhat abruptly, and which Nestle wished to place after v. 23.

6. Verses 9–19, which are missing at the top of the recto, would occupy 33 or 34 lines corresponding to ll. 6–10, if the text was approximately as long as the ordinary one; but **1597** seems to be somewhat shorter than usual.

7. The restorations of ll. 9–10, which are practically certain, favour the insertion here

of either τε before και with ℵAB (but not traceable in the Old Latin) or εν before Ιερο]σολομοις with A, but not of both.

κα[ι | τη Ιουδαια: this restoration, though implying a new variant, suits the presumable length of the lacuna in l. 8 (if και τοις εθνεσιν is retained) much better than κα[ι | τοις Ιουδαιοις, which would have the support of *in omnem regionem iudeis*, the reading of the Cod. Colbertinus (13th cent.) and a corrector of the Cod. Perpinianus (13th cent.). ℵBA have πασαν τε την χωραν της Ιουδαιας, which is retained by Tischendorf in spite of the difficulty caused by the unexplained accusative, in later MSS. governed by an inserted εις (so von Soden). That **1597**, which was shorter here than the current text, had κα[ι | εις πασαν την χωραν της Ιουδαιας] and omitted και τοις εθνεσιν is possible, but less likely.

8. εκηρυξα: απηγγελλον (ℵBA) is the best attested reading, and the numerous variants are all compounds of ἀγγέλλειν in some form. The Old Latin MSS. have *adnuntiare* in some form, except the Floriacensis (6th–7th cent.) which has *praedicaui*, apparently representing ἐκήρυξα.

9. τον θ(εο)ν: τὸν ζῶντα θ. some cursives, &c. (including von Soden's chief 'Pamphilus' group); cf. xiv. 15.

1598. I Thessalonians iv—II Thessalonians i.

Fr. 4 8·8 × 6·2 cm. Late third or fourth century.

Parts of two consecutive leaves and an unidentified scrap of a papyrus codex, containing I Thess. iv. 12–II Thess. i. 2 with considerable lacunae. The script is a large heavy round uncial of the early biblical type, not so formal and calligraphic as e. g. **1166** (Part ix, Plate i), but, like **406**, probably of the late third rather than the fourth century. The usual contractions of θεός, Ἰησοῦς, κύριος, πατήρ, and Χριστός occur. No stops are actually found, but a >-shaped sign is used for filling up short lines. The numbers of the pages, which are twice preserved (pp. 207–8), suggest that the book was a collection of St. Paul's Epistles, and it is noteworthy that the usual order of these from Romans to I Thess. would exactly account for the preceding 206 pages.

The text is interesting, being, as often, eclectic in character. It agrees with B four times against ℵA, once with BA against ℵ, twice with ℵA against B, once with ℵ against BA. In ll. 60, 77, and 109 the papyrus clearly presented a longer text than any of the MSS., but in no case is the addition preserved, though fairly probable conjectures can be made. In l. 70 the papyrus is shorter than the MSS. The unidentified fragment does not agree with the ordinary text of any passage in either of these two Epistles. A seventh-century vellum fragment of I Thess. iii. 6–9, iv. 2–5 has been published by Wessely (*Stud. zur Palaeogr.* xii. 192).

Frs. 1 + 2 recto.		Frs. 1 + 2 verso.	
σζ		ση	
νος [χρειαν εχητε ου θελο	I. iv. 13	[ουτως ερχεται οταν λεγ]ωσιν	v. 3
μεν [δε υμας αγνοειν αδελ		[ειρηνη και ασφαλεια το]τ αι	

3 [φο]ι [περι των κοιμωμενων
15 lines lost
νου και ο[ι νεκροι εν Χ̄ω̄ α iv. 16
20 ναστησο[νται πρωτον ε 17
πειτ[α ημεις οι ζωντες
οι περ[ι]λ[ειπομενοι αμα
συν αυτοις α[ρπαγησομεθα
εν νεφελα[ις εις απαντη
25 σιν του κ̄ῡ εις [αερα και ουτω
παντοτε συν [κ̄ω̄ εσομεθα ωσ 18
7 lines lost

Frs. 3+4 verso.

[σθ]
[υμιν και προιστ̣αν̣[ο με v. 12
[νους υμων εν κ̄ω̄ κα]ι νου
[θετουντας υμας] και ηγει 13
70 [σθαι αυτους ε κ̣ περισσου
[εν αγαπη δια το] ε[ρ]γο̣ν̣ α̣υ
[των] ε[ιρηνευετ]ε̣ εν αυτοις
[παρ]α̣κ̣[αλουμεν δε υ]μας α 14
[δελφοι νουθετειτε] τους
75 [α τ̣α̣κ̣ τ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣ π̣[α ρ̣α̣ μυθεισ̣θε
τ̣ους ο[λ]ιγο̣ψυχ[ους αντεχε
σ̣θε των α[σθ]ε[νων εν υμιν?
μακροθυμειτ[ε προς παν
τας ορατε μη τ[ις κακον αν 15
80 τι κακου τινι απ[οδω αλλα
παντοτε το α[γαθον διωκε
τε και εις [αλληλους και εις
παν[τας παντοτε χαιρετε 16
αδια[λειπτως προσευχεσθε 17
85 εν π[αντι ευχαριστειτε του 18
18 lines lost

Frs. 3+4 recto.

[σι]
και περι η[μων ασπασασθε v. 26
105 τους αδ[ελφους παντας εν
φιληματ[ι αγιω ενορκιζω υ 27
μας τον κ̄ν̄ [αναγνωσθηναι
την επιστ̣[ολην πασιν τοις
αδελφ[οις τοις αγιοις? η χα 28
110 ρις του [κ̄ῡ ημων Ιη̄ῡ Χ̄ῡ με
θ υμ[ων

[π̄ρος Θ̄εσσα]λονε[ικ]εις ᾱ
[π̄ρος Θ̄εσσαλο]νε[ικε]ις β̄

[Παυλος και Σιλ]ουανο[ς] και II. i. 1
115 Τιμοθεος τη εκκ̄λ̄ησια
[Θεσσαλονεικεων ε]ν θ̄ω̄
[π̄ρ̄ῑ ημων και κ̄ω̄ Ῑη̄]ῡ Χ̄ω̄
[χαρις υμιν και ειρηνη] απ̣ο 2
18 lines lost

Fr. 5 (middle of a column).

	Verso.		Recto.
137	]ασ[	]τ̣ο[	144 ·̄·] Ị̄η̣[
	]α[	]ιειᾳ[	
	]ι̣ν̣ο[	]σει̣̣[	
140	]κᾳ[		

1–2. *θελο]μεν*: so ℵAB and most MSS.; *θέλω* some cursives, versions, and citations.

22. *οι περ[ι]λ[ειπομενοι*: so most MSS.; om. FG &c.

25. *του κ(υριο)υ*: so ℵAB and most MSS.; some others have *τω Χριστω*.

26. *συν*: so ℵA &c.; *εν* B.

35. *το]τ*: the *ε* is not usually elided here.

56. *ο θ(εο)ς] ημας*: so B with some cursives; *ημας ο θ(εο)ς* ℵA &c.

59. [Ī̄η̄ῡ: so B and the Aethiopic version; for Ī̄η̄ῡ X̄ῡ, the ordinary reading, there is not room.

υπερ: so ℵ^{c}AD and most others; *περι* ℵ*B.

59–60. *η[μων παντων? ιν]α*: om. *παντων* MSS. No variant except *γρηγορουμεν* for *γρηγορωμεν* is known at this point, but the traces of letters in l. 60 are irreconcilable with the ordinary readings, *αε* being nearly certain, though the other vestiges are inconclusive.

67. *προιστ]αι[ο]με[νους*: so ℵA, this being a common Egyptian form of the usual *προϊσταμένους*. The reading is not quite certain, but suits the vestiges better than *πρ]οι[στα]με[νους*, which seems to be the only alternative.

69. *και*: so ℵAB and most MSS.; *ωστε* FG.

70. *ε]κ περισσου*: *υπερεκπερισσου* ℵA and most MSS.; *υπερεκπερισσως* BD*FG. In iii. 10 and Eph. iii. 20 there is no variant for *υπερεκπερισσου*, but in Mark xiv. 31 ℵBCD &c. read *εκπερισσως* in place of *εκ περισσου*.

71. The supposed traces of *ε[ρ]γον* are very doubtful, but no variant is known.

72. *αυτοις*: so ℵO* &c.; *εαυτοις* ABD^{c} &c.

77. *α[σθ]ε[νων εν υμιν?*: so Bartlet; the MSS. have nothing between *ασθενων* and *μακροθυμειτε*.

82. *και*: so ℵ^{c}B &c.; om. ℵ*AD &c.

104. *και*: so BD* &c.; om. ℵAD^{c} and most other MSS.

106. *ενορκιζω* (ABD* &c.) suits the space better than *ορκιζω* (ℵD^{b} and most others).

109. *αδελφ[οις τοις αγιοις*: *αδελφοις* ℵ*BD &c.; *αγιοις αδελφοις* ℵ^{c}A &c.

111. After *νμ[ων* the papyrus may have had *αμην* with ℵA &c.

112. The title agrees with ℵB*; other MSS. add *ἐπληρώθη* or *ἐτελέσθη* or *ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν*.

113. The title agrees with ℵAB; other MSS. prefix *ἄρχεται*.

114. *Σιλ]ουανο[ς*: so ℵAB &c.; some MSS. have *Σιλβανός*.

117. *Ιη(σο)]υ Χ(ριστ)ω*: so ℵAB &c.; *Χ(ριστ)ω Ι(ησου)ν* D and some others.

144. This line corresponds in position to l. 143, the upper part of the recto being lost. The first contraction was presumably some case of *κύριος* or *Χριστός*, but l. 144 cannot be combined with l. 117.

1599. HERMAS, *Pastor*, *Sim.* viii.

24·5 × 19·8 cm. Fourth century.

A complete leaf of a papyrus codex containing *Sim.* viii. 6. 4–8. 3 of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, this being the eighth Greek fragment of that popular work which has been obtained from Egypt, besides a few Coptic fragments; cf. **1172.** int. and *Berl. Klassikertexte*, vi, p. 16. The two pages are numbered 72 and 73, the columns being slightly longer than those in **1172**, where *Sim.* ii occupies pp. 70–1. The script of the major portion is a medium-sized upright semiuncial with a tendency to exaggerate the last stroke of α, κ, and λ. Something seems to have gone wrong with the verso, where the original writing has been obliterated in ll. 5–6 and from 7 onwards, and a larger and less practised hand, which imitates the style of the first, takes its place up to the end of the page. The leaf was found with dated third-century documents, but the writing hardly suggests so early a date, and it more probably belongs to the fourth century, like **1172**, than to the last quarter of the third. *θεός* and *κύριος* are contracted, as usual. Pauses are indicated by high stops and blank spaces. An apostrophe is sometimes used to mark elision or divide double consonants.

The text is not very good, being prone to omissions, especially owing to homoioteleuton, as in ll. 19–20, 25, 27, 40–1; cf. ll. 3, 9, 18, 22, 24, 32, 33, 41, 45, where **1599** is in nearly all cases clearly wrong. Other slips occur, e. g. in l. 29. But naturally the difference of nine centuries between the dates of **1599** and the Codex Athous, which for this part of the *Shepherd* is the sole Greek authority, expresses itself by a number of improvements in the older text. In five places (ll. 9 *ἐλάλησας*, 20, 31, 37, 54) it supports one or both of the Latin versions against the Athous, which in l. 54 had corrupted *αὐτόν* to *λοιπόν*, as discerned by Hilgenfeld. Of the other variants the most noteworthy occur in ll. 3–4, 5, 11, 25, 38, 42, 46, 48, 50, 56. Most of these are probably right; that in ll. 3–4 is apparently supported by the Aethiopic version. There are, as usual in Hermas papyri, several changes in the order of words (ll. 6, 30, 44, 47, 49, 52), where the evidence of the older witness is generally the more credible; cf. **1172.** int.

The collation with the text of the Codex Athous (ca) is based on Lake's transcript in *Facsimile of the Athos fragments of the Shepherd of Hermas*, which supersedes Simonides's transcript used by Gebhardt-Harnack and the imperfect collation of Georgandas. The information as to the Latin Vulgate and Palatine versions (L^1 and L^2) and Aethiopic version (A) is obtained from Gebhardt-Harnack's and Hilgenfeld's editions. A new edition of the *Shepherd* is much to be desired.

Verso.

οβ

απο των τοιουτων [[τοιουτων]] η ζωη απε[στη] viii. 6. 4
οι δε τας ξηρας και ασηπτους επιδεδωκο̣[τες] και 5
ουτοι· εγγυς αυτων ησαν ὑποκριται και [διδ]αχας
εισφεροντες ετερας· και εκστρεφοντε[ς] τους
δουλους του θυ· (2nd hand) μα[[λ]]λιστα δε παλιν τους ημαρ
1st hand τηκοτες (2nd h.) μη αφεντες α(1st h.)υτους (2nd h.) μετανοειν·
αλλα ταις διδαχαις ταις μωραις πειθοντες αυτους̣
ουτοι ουν εχουσιν ελπιδα του μετανοησαι· βλεπις 6
δε εξ αυτων μετανενοηκοτες αφ οτε ελαλησας
αυτοις τας εντολας μου· κα[ι] ετι μεταν̣ο̣ησω̣σιν·
οσοι δε ου μετενοησαν απωλεσαν την ψυχην
αὐτων· οσοι δε μετενοησαν εξ αυτων αγαθ[ο]ι
ε̣γ̣[ε]ν̣ο̣ν̣τ̣ο· και εγενετο η κατ᾽οικια αυτων ει[ς
τα τιχη τα πρωτα· τινες δε και εις τον πυργ[ο]ν
ανεβησαν· βλεπις ουν φησιν οτι η μετανοια
των αμαρτωλων ζωην ειχεν το δε μη μετα
νοησαι θανατον οσοι δε ημιξηρους επε[7. 1
δωκαν και εν αυταις σχισμας ειχον· ακουε πε[ρι
αυτων· οσων ησαν αι ραβδ̣α̣[ι] ημιξηρους [
διψυχοι εισιν και καταλαλοι μηδεποτε ειρην[ευ 2
οντες εν εαυτοις· αλλα διχοστατουντες π̣[αν
τοτ̣ε̣ και τουτοις φησιν επικειται μεταν[οια
βλεπεις φησιν τινας ηδη εξ αυτων μεταν[ενο
ηκοτας· και ετι ελπις εστιν εν αυτοις μετα[νοιας
οσοι ουν φησιν εξ αυτων μετανενοηκα[σι 3
βραδυτερον εις τα τιχη κατοικησωσιν·
οι δε ου μετανοησω̣σιν ταις πραξε[σ]ιν αυτων
θανατω αποθανουνται·

Recto.

ογ

1st hand ο[σοι δ]ε χλωρας επιδεδωκοτες τας ραβδους αυτων 4
και [σχι]σμας εχουσας ουτοι παντοτε πιστοι και

αγα[θοι] εγενοντο εχοντες δε ζηλον τινα εν
αλ'[λη]λοις περι πρωτιων και περι δοξας· αλλα
παντες ουτοι μωροι εισιν εν αλ'ληλοις· αλλα και ου 5
τοι ακουσαντες των ἐντολων μου αγαθοι
35 οντες εκαθαρισαν εαυτους και μετενοησαν
ταχυ εγενετο ουν η κατοικησις αυτων εις τον
πυργον· εαν δε τις αυτων παλιν επιστραφη
εις τὴν διχοσ[τα]σιαν εκ'κολ'ληθησεται του πυργου
και απολεσι την ζωην αυτου· η ζωη παντων 6
40 εστιν των τηρουντων τας εντολας του κῦ
και τας εντολας δε περι πρωτιων η περι δοξης
ουκ εστιν αλλα περι μακροθυμιας και περι ταπι
νοφρ[ο]συνης ανδρος εν τοις δε τοιουτοις η ζωη του κῦ
ἐν δὲ τοις διχοστατοις και παρανομοις θανατος·
45 των δε επιδεδωκοτων τας ραβδους ημισυ χλωρας ημισυ 8. 1
ξηρας ουτοι εισιν οι ταις πραγματιαις αυτων
ενπεφυρμενοι και τοις αγιοις μη κολ'λωμενοι
δια τουτο το η[μι]συ αυτων ζη και το ημισυ απεθανεν
πολλοι ουν ακουσαντες των εντολων μου μετε 2
50 νοησαν οσοι ουν μετενοησαν η κατοικια αυτων
[εις] τον πυργον τινες δε αυτων εις τελος απεστησαν
[ουτο]ι ουν μετανοιαν ουκ εχουσιν δια τας πραγμα
[τιας γ]αρ' αυτων εβλασφη⟨μη⟩σαν τον κῦ και απηρνησαντο
[α]υτον απωλεσαν ουν την ζωην αυτων δια την πο
55 [νη]ριαν ην επραξαν πολλοι δε εξ αυτων εδιψυχησαν 3
ουτοι ουν ετι εχουσιν μετανοιαν εαν ταχυ μετανοησωσιν

1. τοιουτων: so ca and L^2; L^1 adds *ergo*, A *igitur*. The termination of the word following τοιουτων is very uncertain; but, though the obliteration might be accidental instead of intentional, τοινυν does not seem long enough.

3. ουτοι· εγγυς αυτων ησαν: οὗτοι ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν· ἦσαν γὰρ ca, supported by L^1L^2 and A.

3–4. [διδ]αχας εισφεροντες ετερας: διδ. ξένας εἰσφ. ca. *pravas* in L^1L^2 perhaps implies a different adjective, but A's *duplicem* (*doctrinam*) seems to support ετερας, for which cf. Gal. i 6 ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον. The Gnostics are supposed to be meant.

5. μο[λ]λιστα: or possibly μαλ'λιστα.

παλιν: om. ca, L^1L^2.

ημαρτηκοτες: ἡμαρτηκότας ca; cf. l. 9, where the accusative in -ες recurs, and Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Gram.* p. 120.

6. *αφεντες*: *αφιεντες* ca in accordance with the other participles.
αυτους μετανοειν: *μετανοεῖν αὐτ.* ca.

7. *πειθοντες*: so ca and L^1 (*detinentes*); *detinebant* L^2; *seducunt* A.

9. *εξ αυτων*: *πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτ.* ca with L^1L^2.
μετανενοηκοτες: *καὶ μετανενοηκότας* ca; cf. l. 5, n.
αφ οτε: *ἀφ' ἧς* ca.
ελαλησας: so L^1L^2 (*pertulisti*); *ἐλάλησα* ca; *nuntiatum est* A. Editors prefer *ἐλάλησας*. Cf. the passage immediately preceding l. 1, where ca has *ἐλάλησα*, but L^1 implies *ἐλάλησας*.

10. *μετανοησωσιν*: *μετανοησουσιν* ca; cf. ll. 26–7 and Jannaris, *op. cit.* p. 555.

11. *μετενοησαν*: *μετανοήσουσιν* ca; *egerint* (v.l. *egerunt*) L^1L^2. *μετανοήσουσιν* is probably due to a reminiscence of l. 10.
ψυχην: *ζωην* ca; *vitam* L^1L^2.

12–3. *αγαθ[σ]ι εγ[ε]νοντο· και*: om. L^1.

16. *ειχεν*: *ἔχει* ca; *inesse* (*vitam*) L^1L^2.

18. *πε[ρι*: *καὶ περὶ* ca; *de* (*his*) *vero* L^1L^2.

19–20. *αι ραβδα[ι] ημιξηρους διψυχοι εισιν και καταλαλοι*: *αἱ ῥάβδοι καθὰ* (l. *κατὰ*) *τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμίξηροι διψυχοί εἰσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶσιν οὔτε τεθνήκασιν. οἱ δὲ ἡμιξήρους ἔχοντες καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς σχισμάς, οὗτοι καὶ διψυχοὶ καὶ καταλαλοί εἰσιν* ca, the omissions in **1599** being mostly due to homoioteleuton; cf. int. The archetype of **1599** may well have already lost *κατὰ τὸ αὐτό*, which is omitted by L^2 and A (*tantummodo* L^1).

20. *μηδεποτε*: *et nunquam* L^1L^2A; *καὶ μηδὲ* ca. *καὶ μηδέποτε* Gebh.-Harn.; but *καί* is superfluous.

22. *και*: *ἀλλὰ καὶ* ca; *et* (*his*) *quidem* L^1; *nam et* L^2.

23. *ηδη*: om. ca, L^1L^2.

24. *ετι ελπις εστιν εν αυτοις μετα[νοιας*: *ἔτι, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς μεταν.* ca.

25. *οσοι ουν*: *καὶ ὅσοι* ca; *quicunque vero* L^1; *quicunque enim* L^2.
μετανενοηκα[σι] βραδυτερον: *μεταν. τὴν κατοικίαν εἰς τὸν πύργον ἔξουσιν. ὅσοι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν βραδύτερον μετανενοήκασι* ca. Cf. ll. 19–20, n.

26. *κατοικησωσιν*: *-σουσιν* ca. Cf. l. 10, n. The supposed stop may be part of the *κ* of *κα[σι* in l. 25.

27. *οι δε ου μετανοησωσιν*: so L^1, *qui vero non egerint*; *ὅσοι δὲ οὐ μετανοοῦσιν ἀλλ' ἐμμένουσι* ca. Cf. ll. 10, 19–20, and 29, nn.

29. *ο[σοι*: *οἱ* ca. Cf. l. 27 where the papyrus has *οι* for *οσοι*.

30. *ουτοι παντοτε*: *πάντοτε οὗτοι* ca.

31. *δε*: om. ca; but *sed* L^1L^2.

32. *δοξας*: l. *δοξης*. *δόξης τινὸς* ca with L^2 (*dignitate quadam*); L^1 omits *quadam*. Cf. l. 41, n.

33. *εν αλληλοις*: add *ἔχοντες περὶ πρωτείων* ca, which edd. emend by inserting *ζῆλον* after *ἔχοντες* from L^1 *habent inter se aemulationem de principatu* and L^2 *de principatu certantur*.

35. *εκαθαρισαν*: *ἐκαθάρησαν* ca.

37. *αυτων*: so L^1L^2 (*eorum*); om ca.
επιστραφη: *ἐπιστρέψῃ* ca; *redierit* L^1L^2. In classical authors the passive was used in this sense; but cf. Matt. xii. 44 *ἐπιστρέψω εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου*.

38. *εκκολληθησεται*: *ἐκβληθήσεται ἀπὸ* ca; *expelletur* L^1L^2. *ἐκκολλᾶν* is not attested, but seems not unlikely here; cf. l. 47 *τοις αγιοις μη κολλωμενοι*. *β* and *κ* are often very similar in cursive hands from the second century onwards.

40–1. *των τηρουντων τας εντολας του κ(υριο)υ και τας εντολας δε*: *τῶν τὰς ἐντ. τοῦ κ(υρ). φυλασσόντων· ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς δὲ* ca with L^2; (*vita enim*) *eorum qui custodiunt mandata domini in mandatis consistit* L^1. *και* may be a mistake for *κατα*, but *εν τοις δε τοιουτοις* occurs in l. 43.

41. δοξης: δόξης τινὸς ca with L^1L^2.

42. ταπινοφρ[ο]σύνης: ταπεινοφρονήσεως ca; *humilitatem animae* L^1; *animi humil.* L^2. ταπεινοφροσύνη occurs several times in the N. T. and 1 Clem. and in the *Shepherd* twice, *Vis.* iii. 10. 6, *Sim.* v. 3. 7; but for ταπεινοφρόνησις Stephanus only quotes Tertullian. **1599** is likely to be right.

43. εν τοις δε τοιουτοις: ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις οὖν ca. L^1 has for ll. 42–3 *per patientiam . . . vitam homines consequentur.*

44. εν δε τοις διχοστατοις: ἐν τοῖς διχοστάτοις δὲ ca. εν δε has been corrected. διχοστάταις edd.

45. των δε επιδεδωκοτων: οἱ δὲ ἐπεδωδοκότες ca, rightly.

ημισυ χλωρας ημισυ ξηρας: ἥμ. μὲν χλ. ἥμ. δὲ ξηρ. ca; L^1L^2 invert *viride* and *aridum.*

46. ταις πραγματιαις αυτων: ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις ca; *negotiationibus* (*involuti*) L^1L^2.

47. τοις αγιοις μη κολλωμενοι: μὴ κολλ. τοῖς ἁγ. ca.

48. και το ημισυ απεθανεν: τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ νεκρόν ἐστι ca; *dimidium mortuum est* L^1; *dimidiae mortuae sunt* L^2.

49. των εντολων μου: μου τῶν ἐντ. ca.

50. ουν: γοῦν ca; L^1L^2 om. οσοι γουν μετενοησαν.

52. δια τας πραγμα[τιας γ]αρ: διὰ γὰρ τ. πραγμ. ca.

54. [α]υτον: Hilgenfeld's conjecture for the meaningless λοιπόν of ca is confirmed; cf. *et eum abnegaverunt* L^1, *eumque abneg.* L^2.

56. ουν: om. ca; *adhuc et his est regressus qui si cito . . .* L^1; *quibus adhuc per celerem poenitentiam regressio est* L^2.

1600. Treatise on the Passion.

22·5 × 7·8 cm. Fifth century.

This and the next three fragments (**1601–3**) all come from works which do not seem to be extant, though in the absence of an adequate patristic lexicon, except for the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists, this is not quite certain. None of them is likely to have been composed before the third or fourth century. **1600**, which is most of a leaf from a papyrus codex, contains part of a treatise on the Passion as foreshadowed in the Old Testament by various types such as Abel, Joseph, and Moses, and being therefore at once both old and new; illustrations from Deuteronomy and the Psalms are quoted. The verso clearly follows the recto, with an interval of perhaps not more than a single line at the top. The script is a good-sized round uncial of a formal type. The mound in which **1600** was found produced mainly fifth-century documents, and that century rather than the sixth is likely to be the date of the papyrus. The customary contractions for θεός, κύριος, and Χριστός occur. Pauses are indicated sometimes by high stops or blank spaces, but the employment of them is irregular. There are a few marginal corrections in a similar but not identical hand. On both sides of the papyrus the surface is much damaged in places. The restorations are largely due to Dr. Bartlet, who suggests that **1600** may come from Hippolytus, Πρὸς Ἰουδαίους.

Recto.

. . . . . .
[. . . . . χ]αριν· οτ[ι .
[. . . . . .] . [.] πιστεως
[. . . . ε]κ μακρου προσ
[. . . . .] ουτω δη και το
[του κῡ π]αθος εκ μακρου
[. . . . .]ωθεν δια δε τυ
[που δηλω?]θεν σημερον
[εν ημιν?] τυγχανει τετε
[λειωμε]ν[ον .]α
[. . . . .]ας καινο[ν το] πα
[λαιον] νομιζο[μενο]ν
[εστι γ]αρ καινο[ν και π]α
[λαιον το] του κῡ μυστη[
[ριον π]αλαιον μεν κα[
[τα το]ν νομον καινον [
[δε κατ]α την χαριν αλλ' εα[ν
[αποβ]λεψης εις τον τυπο[ν
[καιν]ον οψη δια της θυ
[δοσε?]ως τοινυν ει βου εα[
[λει το] του κῡ μυστηριο̄ [
γινωνται· αποβλεψον δι[η
[εις το]ν Αβελ· τον δι αδελ
[φου φ]ονευομενον εις
[τον . .] . . . τον ομοιως
[. . . . .] . . οζομενον
[εις το]ν Ιωσηφ· τον ο
[μοι]ως πιπρασκομε
[νον] εις τον Μωυσεα
[τον] ομοιως εκτιθε[μενον

Verso.

. . . . . .
[ο]ν ομοι[ως . . . . με
νον εις το[υς αλλους
τους ομοιως [κακως πα
σχοντες αποβ[λεψον δε
και εις τον εν [Ησαια ως
προβατον σφ[αχθεντα
τον παταξαν[τα . . . . .
και σωσαντα [πολλους?
περι του α[ιμ]ατος [. . . . . .
δια π[ρο]φητικης [γραφης?
τ[ο του] κῡ μυστη[ριον
. . ο . . . μενον ο [μεν γαρ
Μωυσης προε[φητευσε
και οψεσθε την [ζωην υ
μων κρεμαμεν[ην εμπρο
σθεν των οφθαλ[μων υ
μων νυκτος και [ημερας
και ου πιστευσητ[ε εις την
ζωην υμων ο [δε Δαυειδ
ε[ι]πεν ινα τι εφρυαξε[ν εθνη και
λαοι εμελετησα[ν κενα
παρεστησαν οι βα[σιλεις
της γης και οι α[ρχοντες
συνηχθησαν ε[πι το αυ
το κατα του κῡ κα[ι κατα του
Χῡ αυτου ον . . ε[. . . . . .
ε . ς ως αρνιον [εις σφαγην
αγομενον τον [. . . . . .
ελογισαντο . . . [. . . . . .

Fr. 2 recto.

] . . [
] . ιλ .

'Thus the Passion of the Lord which was (foreknown) for a long time and revealed by a pattern, to-day finds itself fulfilled in us . . . new which was thought old. For the mystery of the Lord is new and old, old in respect of the law, but new in respect of grace. But if thou wilt consider the pattern, thou wilt see that it is new by the giving (?) of God. If then thou wishest to know the mystery of the Lord, consider Abel who was killed through his brother; . . . who was likewise . . .; Joseph who was likewise sold; Moses who was likewise exposed; . . . who was likewise . . .; the others who likewise suffered evil things. And consider also him who in Isaiah was slain as a sheep, who (was ?) struck . . . and saved (many). Concerning the blood . . . the mystery of the Lord is (revealed) through prophetic writing. For Moses prophesied "And ye shall see your life hanging before your eyes night and day, and ye shall have no assurance of your life". And David said "Why did the nations rage and the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers took counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed". Whom . . . they considered as a lamb led to the slaughter . . .'

8–9. *τετελειωμενον* or *τετελεσμενον* would be expected, but hardly fills up l. 9, which is shorter than the rest and perhaps ends a sentence.

17. *τον τυπον*: the reading is very doubtful; but neither *παλαιον* nor *το παλαιον* is satisfactory, and cf. l. 6. It is not quite certain that a fragment containing the supposed ō of *τυπου*, ῡ in l. 18, and the top of the *υ* of *βου* and *εα*[in l. 19 is rightly placed here.

19. The marginal note apparently corrects *ει βουλει* to *εαν βουλη*. *λη* may have been written in the margin below *εαν* or at the beginning of l. 20, or possibly *εαν* | [*βου*]*λ*[*η* should be restored at the ends of ll. 19–21. *δ*[is, however, preferable in l. 21; cf. n.

21. There is a space between *αποβλεψον* and *δ*[, which perhaps belongs to a marginal addition beginning in l. 19; cf. n. *δ*[*ε* is not wanted, *αποβλεψον* being the apodosis of *ει βου*[*λει* (but cf. l. 33, where there is room for *δε*); and *δ*[*η* is more likely.

22. The readings after *Αβελ* are very uncertain, but *τον υπο του* | [*Καιν φ*]*ονευομενον* does not suit the vestiges.

24–5. *εις* [*τον Ισ*]*αακ τον ομοιως* [*υπο πρ*]*ς σφαζομενον* is unsuitable, though *οζομενον* does not suggest an appropriate word.

32–3. *πα*]*σχοντες*: cf. **1599**. 5, n.

34–5. Cf. Isa. liii. 7 *ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη* and ll. 56–7.

36. *παταξαν*[*τα*: *παταχθεντα* would be expected.

43–8. A loose quotation of Deut. xxviii. 66 *καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωή σου κρεμαμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου, καὶ φοβηθήσῃ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, καὶ οὐ πιστεύσεις τῇ ζωῇ σου.*

49–55 = Psalm ii. 1.

56–8. Cf. Psalm xliii. 22 *ἐλογίσθημεν ὡς πρόβατα σφαγῆς* and ll. 34–5, n.

59–60. This unplaced fragment, being blank on the verso, presumably came near the ends of lines; but at the ends of ll. 13–15 there is apparently nothing lost. It is not clear which way up it is to be read.

1601. Homily on Spiritual Warfare.

12·7 × 10·2 cm. Late fourth or fifth century.

The lower part of a leaf of a papyrus codex containing a homily of some kind on the warfare of the soul, largely concerned with Joel i. 6 (ll. 2 sqq.) and 8 (ll. 23–8), but also referring to Hosea iii. 3 (ll. 29–30) and perhaps the Pentateuch

(l. 32). For much of the reconstruction we are indebted to Dr. Bartlet. The script is a medium-sized semiuncial of the late fourth or fifth century, with occasional high stops and the usual contractions of *θεός* and probably *κύριος*, but not of *υἱός*. Abbreviations are found on the recto, which probably followed the verso, and these perhaps occurred at the ends of lines of the verso also. Brown ink was employed.

Verso.

. . . . . .
. . . . .]ωμε̣ν . . . . . .
[.]ωμε̣ν του νου [οτι εθνος ανεβη
ε̣πι την γην του [κῡ ισχυρον γη
γαρ φησιν αι ψυχ[αι των αγιων
και η ψυχη του ϋιο̣[υ της απωλει(ας)?
εθνος εξουσιων τ̣[ου κοσμου του
του και πνευματικ[η εστιν ημιν
η παλη και αναβαινε̣[ι αυτο? ισχυ
ρον τυγχανον κα̣[ι ανευ αρι
θμων ων η τεταρ̣[τη . . . . . .
κατα τουτο γαρ λελ[εκται ανα
ριθμητον τουτου [δε του εθνους
[οι] οδοντες λεοντ[ος οτι ο αντι
δι]κος ϋμων διαβολ̣ος περιπατει
[ζ]η̣τ̣ων καταπιειν [. . . . . .

Recto.

. . . . . .
]ε̣ται . . . . . .
]π̣νρον αι . . . . .
] κερανυησε ριπτι
]ν αυτων απολλυσι
]ρον περιτιθησιν δε
] οπερ δηλουται ει
]τ̣ης μετα[[ν]] ταυτα
θρη]νησον προς με

σακ]κον επι τον ανδρα αυ(της)
λ]εγει ην θρηνει επι
το]υς δικαιους τους εν τη
] τω θω θρηνειν δε
ο]τι ε̣νηστευσ(αν) και εθρηνευσᾱ
]ν ελεγ(εν) Ωσηε γυναικ(ι) πορ(νευουση)
οτι καθηση] επ εμοι και ου μη πορν(ευσης)
] . ι̣ο̣[. . .] . ρ̣ακ( ) οτι πρωτ(ον) μεν
] . εγραψεν Μωϋσης οτι εαν
ε]π̣ιθυμ( ) την εξ εθν(ους) εκκλησιᾱ
τ]ουτ( ) αντι του μη ως εθνικ( )

2–15. '. . . because "a nation is come up on the land of the Lord in strength". By "land" he means the souls of the holy, and the soul of the son of destruction by the "nation" of the powers of this world; and our wrestling is spiritual. And it "is come up being strong and without numbers", of which the fourth . . .; for on this account it has been called numberless. Of this nation "the teeth are those of a lion" because your adversary the Devil walketh about seeking to devour . . .'

1.]ωμε[ν: the first and third letters might be ο, and the same applies to]ωμεν in l. 2.

2–3. Cf. Joel i. 6 *ὅτι ἔθνος ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν μου ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀναρίθμητον, οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ὀδόντες λέοντος, καὶ αἱ μύλαι αὐτοῦ σκύμνου.*

6. *s* of *εθνος* has been corrected.

7–8. Cf. Eph. vi. 12 *ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ . . . πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας.*

13–15. Cf. 1 Peter v. 8 *ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος, ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος, περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τίνα καταπίῃ.*

18. *κεραυνηση*: *κεραυνοῦν* is known, but apparently not *κεραυνεῖν*.

23–4. Cf. Joel i. 8 *θρήνησον πρός με ὑπὲρ νύμφην περιεζωσμένην σάκκον ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς τὸν παρθενικόν.* There is not room here for *περιεζωσμενην*, unless it was contracted, and certainly not for *υπερ νυμφην* as well, so that the quotation was probably not verbal; cf. ll. 2–3 and 29–30, nn.

29–30. Cf. Hos. iii. 3 *καὶ εἶπα πρὸς αὐτήν, Ἡμέρας πολλὰς καθήσῃ ἐπ' ἐμοί, καὶ οὐ μὴ πορνεύσῃς . . .*

1602. HOMILY TO MONKS.

12·5 × 10·8 cm. Late fourth or fifth century.

A leaf of a vellum codex containing apparently the beginning of a section of a homily to ascetics on the spiritual warfare as illustrated by the history of Israel. The vellum is stained and shrivelled in places, rendering the decipherment sometimes difficult, especially on the verso (the flesh-side?), where the ink is fainter; and we are indebted to suggestions of Dr. Bartlet

for several readings. The script is a good-sized uncial of the early biblical type, not quite as old as **406** (Part iii, Plate i) or **849** (Part vi, Plate i), but probably of the late fourth century rather than the fifth. O is written small and the middle of Ω is slurred, as in **1597** (Plate i). Stops are freely employed, these being generally in the middle position, but double dots and a mark like an apostrophe are also used. A breathing is inserted in l. 4. *θεός*, *Ἰησοῦς*, *Ἰσραήλ*, *κύριος*, *πνεῦμα*, and *Χριστός* are contracted. Some remarkable expressions occur in ll. 32–7.

Recto.

στρατιωται $\overline{\text{Χυ}}$. ακουσατε πο
σακις εκ χειρος ανομων ο
$\overline{\text{θς}}$ ερρυσατο τον $\overline{\text{Ιηλ}}$. και με
χρι οὐ τα προς τον $\overline{\text{κν}}$ ετη
ρουσαν ουκ απεστη απ αυτῶ:
εκ χειρος γαρ Φαραω εσω
σεν αυτον οντος ἀνομου.
και Ωγ βασιλεω[ς α]νοσιοτε
ρου. και Αδαρ. μετ[α τ]ων αλλο
φυλων. και επει τα προς θν
ετηρουσαν. ετι εδωκεν
αυτοις εκ καρπου της ἰσχυ
ος επαγγειλαμενος γην
Χαναναιων. και ὑπεταξε
αυτοις τους αλλοφυλους.
και μετ αυτα οσα εν τη ε
ρημω και τη ανυδρω [[και]]
παρεσχεν: επι τουτοις
προφητας εξεπεμψεν.
κηρυσσειν τον $\overline{\text{κν}}$ ημῶ

Verso.

$\overline{\text{Χν}}$ Ιν οιτινες κατα ταξιν
και κληρον ⟨και⟩ μερισμον λα
βοντες $\overline{\text{πνα}}$ Χρυ καλοπαθοῦ
τες υπο του λαου ανηρεθη
σαν. ανηρεθησαν' αποστᾶ
τες $\overline{\text{πνος}}$ ζωντος κατα
τας [αν]ομιας αυτων· εσ
φαλη[σαν] της κληρονομι
ας. της αιωνιου. και νυν α
δελφ[οι] μειναται νικηται·
μειν[α]τε εως αν υπομεινᾶ
τες κ[υ]ρωμεν την προσελευ
σιν τῆν προς $\overline{\text{κν}}$. και συμ
φυτον και οπλον ευδο
κιας λαβωμεν $\overline{\text{Χν}}$ $\overline{\text{Ιν}}$. αυτῶ
ὑπερ ημων φυντα εαυτῶ
γῆι [[και]] ουτως ως εστιν.
και παραλαβετε τον λογον
οτι $\overline{\text{πνα}}$ δυναμεως επ ε
σχατω των καιρων . . . .

'Soldiers of Christ, hear how often God delivered Israel from the hand of the lawless, and while they kept the things pertaining to the Lord He did not withdraw from them—for He saved Israel from the hand of Pharaoh the lawless, and from Og, a more unholy king, and from Arad with the men of other nations, and when they kept the things pertaining to God He still gave to them from the fruit of strength, having promised to them the land of Canaan, and He subjected to them the men of other nations—and again how

He supplied them in the desert and waterless place, and in addition He sent forth prophets to herald our Lord Christ Jesus, men who receiving in order and lot and due portion the spirit of Christ and suffering ills from the people were put to death. They were destroyed because they departed from the living Spirit after their own lawlessness; they lost the eternal inheritance. And now, brethren, remain conquerors. Remain until having endured we attain the approach unto the Lord, and receive as innate and a shield of well-pleasing Christ Jesus, Him who planted Himself for our sakes on earth so as He is; and accept the word, because a spirit of power in the last time . . .'

4. *ετηρουσαν*: this form of the imperfect was introduced in the second century B.C.; cf. Mayser, *Grammatik d. griech. Pap. aus d. Ptolemäerzeit*, p. 323.

9. *Αδαρ μετ[α τ]ων αλλοφυλων*: Ἀδάρ is a Jewish month, not a proper name, and seems to be corrupt, probably for Ἀράδ the Canaanite (Numb. xxi. 1–3).

12. *καρπου της ἰσχυος*: a phrase apparently meaning 'spoil'.

17. *και* has dots above it; cf. l. 37.

23. The correction (if the supposed vestige of *κ* above the line is really ink) may be by the first hand.

25. *ανηρεθησαν*: the subject reverts to *αυτοις* in l. 15, i. e. the Jews.

32–5. We have not been able to find a parallel for the expressions in these lines.

36. *φευτα* is used transitively, as if it were *φυσαντα*. The traces suit *φ* very well. Cf. *ἔφυ* for *ἔφυσε* in two British Museum Greek inscriptions, nos. 1004 and 1074, discussed by J. A. R. Munro in *Class. Rev.* 1917. 142.

37. *γηι*: the dots above *και* indicating deletion are clear, but the scribe does not seem to have also placed dots over *γηι*. He (or the preacher) apparently meant *εν γηι*. *πνα* cannot be read instead. For *γῆ* as equivalent to human nature Bartlet compares Barn. vi. 9 *ἄνθρωπος γὰρ γῆ ἐστιν πάσχουσα*.

38. *λογον*: i. e. the preacher's discourse probably, rather than the Gospel.

1603. HOMILY CONCERNING WOMEN.

21·1 × 13·3 cm. Fifth or sixth century.

The upper part of a column of a roll written in a large sloping uncial hand of the fifth or sixth century with light brown ink. The subject is a diatribe, addressed probably to ascetics, against the female sex, through whom the Evil One is wont to exert his wiles. Examples from the Bible are cited in ll. 1–11, a passage which seems to be modelled on Hebr. xi; the rest consists of a more general condemnation. A contraction *αγ(γε)λους* and stops in the high and (more commonly) middle position occur. **403** (*Apocalypse of Baruch*; Part iii, Plate i; fifth century) is a somewhat earlier specimen of this type of uncial, of which sixth-century specimens in smaller hands occur in P. Cairo Maspero 67097 verso (i. Plates xxviii–ix) and 67177 verso (ii. Plates xix–xx).

. . . *γυναικ*[?]*α του Ουριου δε*[
[. . . . . .] . . *δια γυναικος το*[*ν σοφωτατον*
[*Σο*]*λ*[*ο*]*μωνα προς παραβασιν* [*παρηγαγε*?

δια γυναικος τον ανδριωτ[ατον Σαμψων
ξυρησας ετυφλωσε· δια γ[υναικος τους
υιους Ηλει του ιερεως εδαφ[ισας εκτανε ?
δια γυναικος τον ουρανον [. . . . . .
εδιωξε· δια γυναικος το[ν . . . . . .
Ιωσηφ εν φυλ⟨ακ⟩η δεσμευσα[ς . . . . . .
δια γυναικος τον παντοπ[. . . . . .
Ἰωαννην απετεμεν· τι δ[ε υμιν ερω
δια γυναικος τους αγλους [. . . . . κα
τεβαλε· δια γυναικος παντα[ς . . . . . .
παντας φονευει· παντας ατ[ιμαζει ?
γυνη γαρ αναιδης ουδενος φε̣[ιδεται ?
ου Λευιτην τιμα· ουκ ιερεα ο̣[υ . . . . . .
ου προφητην αιδειται· π̣[αντων . . . . .
κακιστον γυνη πονηρα [π]α̣ντ[ων . . . . .
εαν δε και πλουτον εχη τη πον̣[ηρια αυτης
[συ]νεργουντα· δισσον το κακο[ν . . . . . .
[.]το̣ζω . [.] . α̣θεραπευτο̣ν [. . . . . .
. . . . . .

'. . . the wife of Uriah . . . ; by a woman he turned aside the most wise Solomon (?) to transgression ; by a woman he shaved and blinded the most brave Samson ; by a woman he dashed to the ground and (slew) the sons of Eli the priest ; by a woman he . . . and persecuted heaven ; by a woman he bound the most . . . Joseph in prison and . . . ; by a woman he cut off the head of the all . . . John. What shall I say to you ? By a woman he . . . cast forth the angels ; by a woman he . . . all, he slays all, he dishonours all. For a shameless woman spares none . . ., honours not a Levite, reverences not a priest, not a . . ., not a prophet. A wicked woman is the worst of all (ills ?), the . . . of all ; and if she also have wealth as her ally in wickedness, the evil is double . . .'

7. There is hardly room for more than a participle at the end of the line. Gen. vi. 1 sqq. seems to be referred to ; cf. l. 12 and II Peter ii. 4.

10. *παντοπ[* : or *παντογ[*. *παντοπ[αθη* by itself is too short, but another word may have followed.

12. Possibly *[απ ουρανου κα]τεβαλε* : cf. l. 7, n.

14. *ατ[ιμαζει* is rather short and *ατ[ιμους ποιει* can be read ; cf. l. 15.

15. *φε[ιδεται* : or *φε[ιδομενη* . . . .

16. *ο[υ πρεσβυτερον* and *ο[υκ αποστολον* are rather long, but *ο[υ βασιλεα* is possible.

17. Perhaps *π[αντων κακων* or *ζωων*.

21. *ξ* can be read in place of *ζ*. *το ζωον αθεραπευτον* is too short, but it is not quite certain that a letter is lost before *το*.

II. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

1604. PINDAR, *Dithyrambs.*

Fr. 1 18 × 25·3 cm. Late second century.
Plate I (Fr. 1).

To the valuable papyri of Pindar already obtained from Oxyrhynchus (cf. **1614.** int.) have now to be added two fragments of a roll containing his dithyrambs, an important section of the poet's works hitherto represented only by the first 18 lines of an ode for the Athenians about Semele (Fr. 75 Schroeder) and a few short quotations. Two of these from the same dithyramb fortunately occur in the papyrus, thus establishing its authorship and character, while another Pindaric citation from an unspecified ode is also present. The larger fragment contains the middle portion of two columns, of which the first comes from a point near the conclusion of a dithyramb probably for the Argives, the second from the beginning of a dithyramb for the Thebans. The smaller fragment belongs to a third ode, possibly for the Corinthians, and may have preceded the other two instead of following them. According to the *βίος Πινδάρου* prefixed to the Codex Vratislaviensis there were two books of his dithyrambs, and the scholiast on *Ol.* xiii. 25 states that in the 1st (book) Pindar attributed the discovery of the dithyramb to Thebes (Fr. 71). This claim is likely to have been made in an ode for the Thebans, which may well have been the second of the three poems in **1604.** If so, all three odes probably belong to the 1st book. Little can be made of the first and third dithyrambs owing to the loss of the beginnings of lines, but the first 30 lines of the second are nearly complete. In the reconstruction and interpretation of this difficult papyrus we are indebted for a number of valuable suggestions to Professors J. B. Bury and A. E. Housman, Sir John E. Sandys, Mr. H. Stuart Jones, and Mr. E. Lobel.

The dithyramb according to the usual view, which has recently been disputed by Professor Ridgeway,[1] was originally a song to Dionysus, as the paean was a song to Apollo, but enlarged its scope in the time of Pindar's predecessors, Lasus and Simonides. The latter wrote dithyrambs entitled *Europa* and *Memnon*, and perhaps one on *Danaë*, if the well-known fragment about her comes from a dithyramb rather than from a *θρῆνος*. Pindar and Bacchylides belong to the middle dithyrambic period. Later dithyrambic poets exercised greater

[1] *Class. Rev.* 1912. 134-9, *Class. Quart.* 1912. 241-2.

freedom in their choice of subjects, and in Roman times 'dithyramb' seems to have been applied to any lyric poem which contained a narrative concerning the heroes; cf. Plut. *De Mus.* 10 and Jebb, *Bacchyl.* p. 39. Concerning the form and character of the dithyramb hardly anything was known before the discovery of the Bacchylides papyrus; but in this the last seven odes (xiv–xx Blass; xix and xx are mere fragments) are generally regarded as dithyrambs, though this classification of them is not altogether free from doubt, for, while xvi is called a dithyramb by Servius (c. 400 A. D.) and in **1091**, it is in fact a paean to Apollo, and xix might be a *ὑμέναιος*. The titles of these ode are *Ἀντηνορίδαι ἢ Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις*, [*Ἡρακλῆς*], *Ἠίθεοι ἢ Θησεύς*, *Θησεύς*, *Ἰώ* (*Ἀθηναίοις*), *Ἴδας* (*Λακεδαιμονίοις*), and [*Κασσάνδρα*?]. Dionysus is introduced only in xviii, the essential feature of these poems being the presentation of a myth. The metre is in only one case (xiv) dactylo-epitritic, which is generally employed in the epinician odes; but the division into strophes, antistrophes, and epodes is found in four out of the five well-preserved dithyrambs, the fifth having only strophes. The introduction of 'free verse' (*ἀπολελυμένα*), not in strophes, is ascribed sometimes to Melanippides, a younger contemporary of Pindar (so Jebb, *op. cit.* p. 46, Weir Smyth, *Greek Melic poets*, liii), sometimes to Lasus, or to Pindar himself (Crusius in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* v. 1214) on the evidence of (1) Horace, *Odes* iv. 2. 10 *seu per audaces nova dithyrambos verba devolvit numerisque fertur lege solutis*, (2) Pseudo-Censorinus, c. 9 *Pindari . . . qui liberos etiam numeris modos edidit*, (3) Fr. 75 about Semele, which is thought to be in 'free verse', (4) Pindar's reference in Fr. 79 to his predecessors' poetry as *σχοινοτένεια*, which has been supposed to imply division into triads as contrasted with his own verse.

The new find, so far as it goes, does not contribute much to support Horace's description of Pindar's dithyrambs. Apart from *σχοινοτένεια* (II. 1) there are only two new words *εὐάμπυξ* (I. 13) and *ἀκναμπτεί* (III. 12). Dithyramb I was certainly arranged in triads, II either in triads or, less probably, in strophes, while the remains of III are not long enough to show the arrangement. Hence, in the absence of any definite evidence for supposing that Fr. 75 is in 'free verse', that fragment can quite well be regarded as parallel to the first strophe of II, which is of about the same length. Fr. 79 happens to occur in II, and the recovery of the context of that passage so important for the history of the dithyramb shows that Pindar was not referring to the distinction between triads and *ἀπολελυμένα*. The metre of II, and probably of III also, is dactylo-epitritic, that of I logaoedic, like Fr. 75. There are some irregularities (cf. II. 4–6, 8–11, 12, 13–14, 15–16, 19, 30, nn.), but hardly more prominent than those in the epinician odes. With regard to the subjects of the dithyrambs, the title of II was 'Heracles the bold or Cerberus', an episode also treated by Stesichorus (Fr. 11), another

exploit of Heracles being treated by Bacchylides (cf. p. 28). I was apparently concerned with the deeds of an Argive hero, perhaps Perseus. The subject of III is uncertain, for the extant fragment comes from a part of the dithyramb in which Dionysus was apparently addressed. He is also prominent in II, and is referred to in I, so that Pindar's dithyrambs were clearly more of the nature of Dionysiac odes than those of Bacchylides. There is no trace of any of the three odes having taken the form of a dialogue such as Bacchyl. xvii. On the whole the impression created by the new find is that Pindar as a dithyrambist was distinctly conservative, and the innovations introduced in the fifth century B.C. were not due to him.

The papyrus was found in the mound which produced **1082–3**, **1231**, **1233–4** &c., but it is doubtful whether it belonged to that collection of lyric and other texts. The handwriting is a medium-sized, rather square and sloping uncial resembling that of **223** (after A. D. 185; Part ii, Plate i) and the corrector who inserted two missing lines in **1234**. 2. ii (Part x, Plate iv). That the main text was written before, not after, 200 is made probable (1) by the title of II, which is in a small cursive hand employing η-shaped η and apparently different from that of the main text, (2) by the numerous scholia in another, still smaller cursive hand, referring to questions of reading or interpretation. These marginalia, which are practically contemporary with the main text, are very similar to those in **1234**, and seem to belong to the second century rather than the third. The main text was originally corrupt in not a few passages, especially in III, and has been subjected to considerable revision. One of the correctors, who is responsible for the readings above the line in II. 27 and III. 9 αν, is possibly identical with the original scribe or with the writer of the title, but more probably different. A second corrector, to whom we should assign all the other interlinear readings, is certainly distinct from the original scribe, the first corrector, and the writers of the title of II and the scholia. A few mistakes of spelling have escaped correction; cf. II. 8–11, 21, nn. An elaborate coronis, similar to those in **1234**, occurred at the beginning of II, but there is no paragraphus after II. 18, where it would be expected. Accents, breathings, and marks of elision or quantity are not infrequent, being mostly due to the first hand, but in some cases added by the second corrector. The stops (high points, except two in the middle position in I. 10 (?) and II. 14) seem to be all due to the first hand, like the occasional diaereses.

I. Only the upper part of the column is of any value, but the slight traces of ll. 25–38 are sufficient to show that they correspond to ll. 11–24; cf. the reference to the antistrophe in l. 20 schol. Lines 1–10 evidently belong

to the penultimate epode, which may have begun several lines earlier. The concluding epode is lost. To judge by the length of lines in II, not more than 10 letters (i. e. 4 syllables) would be expected to be lost before ll. 7–12, and 2 more letters before ll. 2–6 and 13–17. A shorter lacuna at the beginning (4 letters) would suit l. 15, but in l. 14 one or two words seem to be lost before ἀέ]ξετε. That the poem was for the Argives is indicated by the references in ll. 6–7 to the building of a city (Tiryns or Mycenae?) by Cyclopes in Argive territory, and in l. 9 to the house of Abas. The mention of the Gorgons in l. 5 suggests that Perseus was the subject, and possible mentions of Danaë and Acrisius or Proetus occur in ll. 1–3; but Phorcus himself (l. 5), apart from his being the father of the Gorgons and Graeae, is not known to be specially connected with the Perseus legends. The new strophe apparently introduces a change of subject. After a reference to the Dionysiac gathering and an address to the Muses, in l. 15 begins a narrative of an adventure of some one who seems to be newly mentioned. Phorcus and probably the Gorgons again occur, and Bury would refer this passage, not ll. 1–10, to Perseus. The approach of the end of the ode and some parallelisms with Fr. 75 suggest that Dionysus himself might be meant. Possibly Frs. 254 and 284 are to be connected with this poem; cf. ll. 1 and 17, nn. The metre is logaoedic. Some of the lines (e. g. strophe 1 and 3) might be regarded as ending in dochmiacs, but these belong to tragedy rather than to lyrics.

Strophe

– ?⌋– ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ –

∪ ∪ –

∪ ∪ – – ∪ ⏑

∪ ⌊– ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ – –

∪ ⌋∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ⏑ ∪ –

∪ ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –

– – ?⌋– – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ –

⏑

– ∪ ∪ ⏑

⌋∪ ?– ∪ –

– ∪ ⏑

– ∪ ∪ ⏑

–

Epode

Some lines lost (?)

⌋∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ [– ?

– ∪ – –

⌋∪ ?∪ ∪ – ⏑ [

⌋– ∪ ∪ – ⌋

⌋– ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ [–

⏑] – – ∪ ∪ – ?[

⌋∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ⌋

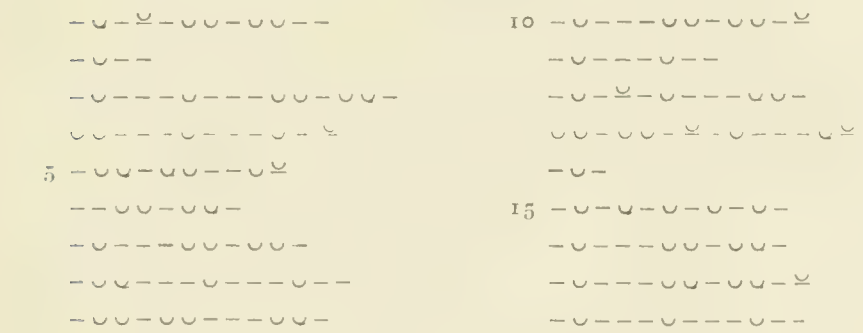
⌋– ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ⏑

⌋– ∪ – ⏑

⌋∪ ⏑

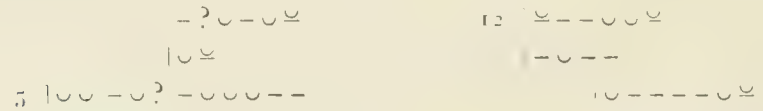
II. This dithyramb for the Thebans was evidently well known in antiquity on account of its opening reference to the σχοινοτένεια ἀοιδή and σὰν κίβδηλον, which is quoted by several writers (Fr. 79[a]) and enables ll. 1–3 to be restored. Another passage a few lines later (Fr. 79[b]), quoted by Strabo alone, had been much corrupted in the MSS. of that author; in a third fragment which occurs (Fr. 208) there are also marked differences between Plutarch's citations and the text of the papyrus. Frs. 81 and 249 also have some points of connexion with II, but are probably from different poems; cf. l. 1, marg., n. The ode begins with a contrast between the older and newer form of dithyramb in favour of the newer, which claims inspiration from the festival held in honour of Dionysus at Olympus itself (ll. 1–8). There follows in ll. 8–23 a picturesque and vivid description of the celestial festival, and a characteristically grandiloquent reference to the poet himself, which leads to the subject of Thebes and the ancestry of Dionysus, whose mother Semele was the daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia (ll. 23–30). The poem breaks off shortly before the end of the antistrophe, where Dionysus himself was apparently being addressed. An epode probably followed; cf. p. 28. The metre is dactylo-epitritic, like that of Fr. 74[b], a corrupt quotation from Pindar found in Epiphanius, which has been assigned by Schroeder to the dithyrambs. The main subject of the poem, Cerberus, is not reached.

Strophe.



III. In this dithyramb about 10 letters seem to be missing at the beginnings of ll. 5–14, and about 5 more in ll. 15–25. There is no metrical correspondence in ll. 1–21, and whether ll. 22–6 correspond to some of ll. 1–10 or not is uncertain. Probably part of the fragment belongs to an epode, unless indeed this poem was in ἀπολελυμένα. Dionysus is apparently addressed in ll. 6 sqq., being invited to join in the festival celebrated at a certain city. Bury would

regard this as Corinth on the evidence of the 'neighbouring rock' (l. 10) and some other indications; cf. ll. 14–15, 18, 22, nn. The metre is apparently dactylo-epitritic, with perhaps an admixture of other rhythms. The scheme of ll. 3–19 is



Fr. 1. Col. i. Plate i.

]α̣π̣ο̣δανα̣[
]νλεγοντων̣[
]ιονανακτα̣[
]λειβομενονδ̣ . [
]ν̣σεπατεραγοργον̣[
]κλῶπων·πτολισ̣α̣ . [.]α̣ν̣ . σ̣ηντοοιδι̣ὅ̣ο̣ν̣διρα̣υ̣τωι̣
]ν̣εναργειμεγαλωι . . [.]γ̣νοησαντεσδε̣τ̣ᵖ̣ω̣σσολ̣οικισμ̣ᵛ·
]π̣οιζυγεντεσερατᾱιδομ̣ο̣ν̣ ο̣ντοσμεταγᵖ̣ε̣ι̣σ̣οῖ̣
]ντάβαντοσ
]λέεν· τ̣ο̣υ̣σ̣εξεγι̣ξ̣ο̣ν̣τ̣ροοικυκλωπεσδιονυσιακον
]δαιμονωνβρομιαδιθο̣ι̣νᾱιπρεπει
]κ̣ορυφαν
]θέμεν· εναμπυκεσ
]ξ̣ετετιμοισαιθαλοσαοιδᾶν
]γαρευχομαι·λεγοντιδεβροτοι
αι ερκοσ
]αφυγονταν̣ινκ̣εμελαναλμασ
]φορκυο·συγγονονπατερων· κορᾶν
]ν
]π̣οντ'εμολον·
]ι̣ανε̣̈αν α̣π̣[.] . ᵖ εανπερισ[
πᵖεξαντιστρᵖ
]ρ̣ωμει ο̣ν̣·
]ι̣ον
]λεγοεπεπιμαχ̣ο̣ν̣
]
]εραν

⏑ – ⏑ [⏑] – ⏑ – ⏓	– ⏑ –
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ –	– ⏑ – ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ ⏓	⏑ ? – ⏑ – –
⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ?	– ⏑ – ⏑ –
⏓ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑	⏑ ? ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ?
] ⏑ ⏑ ? – ⏑ ⏑ –	

I. [ΑΡΓΕΙΟΙΣ.]

] ἀπὸ Δανα[ἐπ. α

]ν λεγόντων [

]ιον ἄνακτα [

] λειβόμενον δ . [

]υσε πατέρα Γοργόν[ων

Κυ]κλώπων· πτόλις ἇρ[ά οἱ ? .]αν . s ἦν τὸ οἱ δι' ὃ οὕ(τως) διο( ) αὐτῷ, ἀ]γνοήσαντες δὲ το(ῦτο) ὡς σολοικισμο(ῦ) ὄντος μεταγρ(άφουσιν) εἰς οἱ.

]ν ἐν Ἄργει μεγάλῳ . . [

]ποι ζυγέντες ἐρατᾷ δόμον

]ντ' Ἄβαντος,

τοὺς]λεεν. τούς· ἐξενίζοντο οἱ Κύκλωπες. Διονυσιακόν.

1 εὐ]δαιμόνων βρομιάδι θοίνᾳ πρέπει στρ. β

2] κορυφὰν

3] θέμεν· εὐάμπυκες

4 ἀέ]ξετ' ἔτι, Μοῖσαι, θάλος ἀοιδᾶν

5 ὕμμι] γὰρ εὔχομαι. λέγοντι δὲ βροτοὶ

6]α φυγόντα νιν καὶ μέλαν ἔρκος ἅλμας

7 κουρᾶν ?] Φόρκοιο, σύγγονον πατέρων, κορᾶν

8]ν

9]πον τ' ἔμολον,

10] . ιαν ἑὰν ἀπ[.] . ο( ) ἐὰν περισ[σ῾ως πρ῾οσαχθὲν ?᾽ ἐξ ἀντιστρο῾φῆς᾽.

11]ρωμενον.

12 – ⏑]ῖον

13] λεγό(μενον) ἐπ' ἐπίμαχον.

14 –]

1 ——⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ——]εραν ἀντ. β

Two lines lost

] . . . [
]ι̣σ
]ι̣σ̣
]α̣σιωσ
]
]τελεταισ·
]α̣ν οκενπερισσο τ
] . ναιατο
]μανθανατον[
]
]λ̣αισ
]

Fr. 1. Col. ii. Plate i.

θρ̣α̣σ̣[
ηρακλη̣σ
ηκερβεροσ
θηβαιοισ [
ϥπ̣[
δ̣ι̣θ[
καιτοσ̣α̣[
διαπεπ̣[.]α̣[. . . . . .]π̣υ̣λ̣α̣[
κλοισινεαι̣[. . . . .]ιδότεσ
ὁ̣ίανβρομιου̣[. . . .]τ̣αν
καιπαρασκα[. .]ονδιοσουρανίδᾶι
ενμεγαροισϊ̈[. .]ντι·σεμναῖμενκαταρχει ϊστάντι
ματεριπαρμ[. .]άλᾱιρομβοιτυμπανων·
ενδεκέχλαδ[. .]κρόταλ'αιθομένατε
δαῖσὺ̣ποξαν̣[. .]ι̣σιπευκαισ·
ενδεναϊδω̣ν̣ε̣ρίγδουποιστοναχαι·
μανίαιτ'αλαλ̣[.]]λα]]τεορίνεταιυψαύχενι
συν·κλονωι·
ενδ'ὀπὰγκρὰ[. .]σκεραυνοσαμπνέων
πυρκεκίν̣η̣[. . . . .]ε̣ι̣ναλι̣ου
εγχοσ·αλκαεσσα̣[.]ε̣παλλάδο[.]αιγισ α̣ . . [

Two lines lost

4 ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – –] . . . [
5 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑]ις
6 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –]ις
7 – – ⏑ – ⏑ ἀσπ]ασίως
8]
9 –] τελεταῖς,
10 κεν – ἐ]ὰν ὅ κεν περισσός.
11] . ναίατο
12]μαν θάνατον [
13]
14]λαις
]

II. ΘΡΑΣ[ΥΣ] *ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ Η ΚΕΡΒΕΡΟΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.*

στρ. α

1 *Π[ρὶν μὲν ἕρπε σχοινοτένειά τ' ἀοιδὰ*
2 *διθ̣υράμβων*
3 *καὶ τὸ σὰ[ν κίβδαλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων,*
4 *διαπέπ[τ]α[νται δὲ νῦν ἱροῖς?] πύλα[ι κύ-*
5 *κλοισι νέαι· [. . . . ϵ]ἰδότες*
6 *οἵαν Βρομίου [τελϵ]τὰν*
7 *καὶ παρὰ σκᾶ[πτ]ον Διὸς Οὐρανίδαι*
8 *ἐν μεγάροις ἵ[σ⟨τ⟩ά]ντι. σεμνᾷ μὲν κατάρχει* ἱστάντι
9 *ματέρι πὰρ μ[ϵγ]άλᾳ ῥόμβοι τυπάνων,*
10 10 *ἐν δὲ κέχλαδ[ον] κρόταλ' αἰθομένα τϵ*
11 *δᾷς ὑπὸ ξαν[θα]ῖσι πεύκαις,*
12 *ἐν δὲ Ναΐδων ἐρίγδουποι στοναχαὶ*
13 *μανίαι τ' ἀλαλ[αί] τ' ὀρίνεται ⟨ῥι⟩ψαύχενι*
14 *σὺν κλόνῳ.*
15 15 *ἐν δ' ὁ παγκρα[τὴ]ς κεραυνὸς ἀμπνέων*
16 *πῦρ κεκίνη[ται τὸ τ'] Ἐνυαλίου*
17 *ἔγχος, ἀλκάεσσά [τ]ϵ Παλλάδο[ς] αἰγὶς* α . . . [

Fr. 79 a

Fr. 79 b

Fr. 208

β
μυριωνφογγαζεταικλαγγαῖσδρακοντων· οφ[
ριμφαδ' εἴσινάρτεμισοὶοπόλ̣ο̣ε̣σ ·οὶόπολοσ
ζεύξαισ' ενοργαισ
βακχειαισφυλονλεοντωνα[
οδεκηλεῖταιχορευούσαισικᾳ[
ρῶναγελαισ·εμεδ' εξαίρετο[
καρυκασοφωνεπεων
μοῖσ' ανέστᾱσ' ελλάδικα[.]λ̣[
ευχομενονβρισαρματοισο̣[
α
ενθάποθαρμονιαν̣[.]ᾰ̣μ[[εν]]γᾳ̣[
καδμο̣νυψη̣[. . .]σπραπιδεσ̣[
ναν·δ[. .]σδ' ακ[. . . . .]μφάν·
καιτέκ[']ένδοξο̣[. . . .]ᾰνθρωπο̣[
διονυσ̣[. ']θ . [. . . . . ']τ̣[.]γ̣[
ματε̣[
πει . [
[

Fr. 2.

]ναλ̣[
]
]ιτομεν̣στασισ·
]π̣οδα
χ
]κατε[. . . . .]ονκυανο[[κ]]ιτων
]τεαντε̣[. . .]ᾰνμελιζοι
]πλοκονσ[. . . .]νωνκισσινων α^ν π̣λ̣[
]κροταφον[ ]
αν
ελ ε [[ωσ]] ᾱ
]εωι̣[[φ]]θ[[ον]]φιλιδηπολε[[ω]]
]ιον̣τεσκοπελονγειτοναπρυτανι . [
]ᾰμᾰ·καιστρατια·[[ισ]]
]τ' ακναμπτεικρεμασον·
]σ̣τεχαρμᾶσ τασεπιδορατιδασ

18 *μυρίων φθογγάζεται κλαγγαῖς δρακόντων.* ὄφ[εων

1 *ῥίμφα δ' εἶσιν Ἄρτεμις οἰοπόλος ζεύ-* οἰόπολος ἀντ. α

20 2 *ξαισ' ἐν ὀργαῖς*

3 *Βακχίαις φῦλον λεόντων ἀ[γροτέρων Βρομίῳ·*

4 *ὁ δὲ κηλεῖται χορευούσαισι κα[ὶ θη-*

5 *ρῶν ἀγέλαις. ἐμὲ δ' ἐξαίρετο[ν*

6 *κάρυκα σοφῶν ἐπέων·*

25 7 *Μοῖσ' ἀνέστασ' Ἑλλάδι κα[λ]λ[ιχόρῳ?*

8 *εὐχόμενον βρισαρμάτοις ὄ[λβον τε? Θήβαις,*

9 *ἔνθα ποθ' Ἁρμονίαν [φ]άμα γα[μετὰν*

10 *Κάδμον ὑψη[λαῖ]ς πραπίδεσ[σι λαχεῖν κεδ-?*

11 *νάν· Δ[ιὸ]ς δ' ἄκ[ουσεν ὀ]μφάν,*

30 12 *καὶ τέκ' εὔδοξο[ν παρ'] ἀνθρώπο[ις γενεάν.*

13 *Διόνυσ[ον, .]θ. [. . . . .]τ[.]γ[*

14 *ματέ[ρος?*

15 *πει . [* ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –

III. [*ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΙΣ?*]

]ναλ[

]

]ιτο μὲν στάσις,

] πόδα

5] κατε[. . . .]ον κυανοχίτων

] τεὰν τε[λετ]ὰν μελίζοι

] πλόκον σ[τεφά]νων κισσίνων ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) πλ[εκτῶν?

κρόταφον

]εων ἔλθε φίλαν δὴ (?) πολέα

10]ιον τε σκόπελον γείτονα πρύτανι . [

]αμα καὶ στρατιά,

] τ' ἀκναμπτεὶ κρέμασον,

]ς τε χάρμας τὰς ἐπιδορατίδας.

]π̣[. . . .]ν̣τοσα[[ρ]]χηνρυοιτοπα[
]ω̣νπελοι·
]λ̣αινπόν̣οι̣χορωι̣[
]ε̣εστ̣᾽αοιδαι·
]οιοφυ[[λ]]λονω̣[
]ε̣πεταλοισηρ̣[
].
]
]μιον[[ε̣]]ιπ̣[
]τ̣ιταμιασ̣[
]νστο̣λ̣ . [
]λ̣θε̣[
]ν̣[

I. 1. Either Δανά[ας (referring to Perseus) or Δανα[οῦ (e. g. *τρίτον*] *ἀπὸ* Δ., referring to Acrisius or Proetus) or Δανα[ῶν or else]*α πόδα ν* . [can be read, the last letter being quite uncertain. Pindar Fr. 284 from Schol. A Homer Ξ 319 *αὐτὴ δὲ* (Δανάη), *ὥς φησιν Πίνδαρος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἐφθάρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατραδέλφου αὐτῆς Προίτου, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ στάσις ἐκινήθη* might refer to this dithyramb.

3. Possibly Ἀκρίσ]ιον. The first letter might be *ν* or *π*, but hardly *τ*, so that Προῖ]τον (cf. ll. 6–7, n.) is unsatisfactory. Lobel suggests Λύκ]ιον, referring either to Proetus or Iobates, king of Lycia, who restored Proetus.

4. The doubtful δ can be *α* or λ. For *λειβόμενον* cf. *Py.* xii. 9 *τὸν* (sc. *θρῆνον*) . . . *ἅτε λειβόμενον δυσπενθεῖ σὺν καμάτῳ.*

5. The letter before *σε* can be *ε*, *ι*, *σ*, *ν*, or *ω*. For Phorcus (= Phorcys), the father of the Gorgons, cf. l. 17 and p. 30.

6. Bury suggests *πρόγονόν τε* Κυ]κλώπων, Phorcus being grandfather of Polyphemus through his daughter Thoösa.

6–7. The scholium is obscure, but seems to refer to the distinction between *οἷ* (= *ἑαυτῷ*) and *οἱ* (= *αὐτῷ*), and *οἱ* with or without an accent presumably occurred in the text. Whether the traces of a word following *μεγαλωι* belong to the text or a scholium is uncertain; *τ*[is possible. Bury proposes *πτόλις ἆρ*[*ά οἱ* | *δέδμητο* (or *τέτυκτο*) *κείνω*]*ν ἐν Ἄργει μεγάλωι τ*[*έχνᾳ*. The city in question was probably either Tiryns, which was built by the Cyclopes for Proetus, as described in Bacchyl. x. 59–81, or Midea or Mycenae, of which Perseus was the legendary founder (Paus. ii. 15. 4), being assisted by the Cyclopes (Schol. Eur. *Or.* 965).

8–9. If *ζυγέντες* is to be taken literally, *ἵπ*]*ποι* and *ἴκο*]*ντ᾽* (Stuart Jones) are probable; but *ἐρατᾷ* suggests that the context may concern music, and Bury proposed *φόρμιγγι δ᾽ ὕμ*]*νοι ζυγέντες ἐρατᾷ δόμον* | *ἄχεον ἀνὰ σκιόε*]*ντ᾽ Ἄβαντος*, comparing Homer λ 334 *κηληθμῷ δ᾽ ἔσχοντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα.* *ὕμ*]*νοι* is, however, unsatisfactory, for if the doubtful letter was *ν* the middle stroke ought to have been visible, so that *π* (*κόμ*]*ποι*? Bury) or *η* or . *ι* is preferable. The 'house of Abas' means the palace at Argos; cf. *Py.* viii. 55 *Ἄβαντος εὐρυχόρους ἀγυιάς.*

10. The stop after]λεεν is not quite certain, and δ can be read for λ. Bury proposes *τοὶς δ᾽ ἅσμ᾽ ἐκή*]*λεεν*, based on the scholium, in which *τους* is apparently quoted from the text

]π̣[. . . .]ντος αὐχὴν ῥύοιτο πα[
]ων πέλοι
]λαν πόνοι χορῶν [
]εες τ' ἀοιδαί,
]οιο φῦλον ω[
]ε πετάλοις ἠρ[ινοῖς ?
].
]
]μιον ἱπ[π
]τι ταμίας [
]ν στολ . [
]λθε[
]υ[

and Διονυσιακον refers to a different word. For ἐκή]λεεν cf. II. 22 and the Homeric verse cited in ll. 8–9, n. The objection to it is that Pindar elsewhere uses the contracted forms in imperfects.

11–13. A new strophe begins here. Bury proposes something like ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν εὐ]δαιμόνων βρομιάδι θοίνᾳ πρέπει | ἔργοισι λόγων] κορυφὰν | ἐπιχωρίοισι] θέμεν. Cf. *Nem.* ix. 8 ἀλλ' ἀνὰ μὲν βρομίαν φόρμιγγ', ἀνὰ δ' αὐλὸν ἐπ' αὐτὰν ὄρσομεν ἱππίων ἄεθλων κορυφάν.

13–14. εὐάμπυξ is not found elsewhere, but ἑλικάμπυξ, κυανάμπυξ, λιπαράμπυξ, and χρυσάμπυξ occur in Pindar. For ἀέ]ξετ' (Bury, Stuart Jones) cf. *Ol.* vi. 105 ἐμῶν δ' ὕμνων ἄεξ' εὐτερπὲς ἄνθος. Before it Bury proposes Περσεῖ νυν, in order to explain νιν in l. 16. Βρομίῳ νυν is also possible; cf. l. 17, n.

15. ὔμμι] was suggested by Bury, who proposes an epithet of ἀοιδῶν, e.g. κλυτᾶν, before it.

16. Regarding νιν as Perseus, Bury proposes Λιβύας πεδί]α (or γύαλ]α) φυγόντα. κῆρ]α (Stuart Jones) is also possible. If Dionysus, who according to Paus. ii. 22. 1 attacked Argos from the sea, were meant (cf. l. 17, n.), δεσμ]ὰ (Lobel) would be suitable; cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 610 sqq. It is not clear whether ἔρκος was simply omitted by the first hand or was intended to take the place of ἅλμας. The corresponding line of the antistrophe hardly projects as far as would be expected if it contained equivalents of both words; but the collocation ἔρκος ἅλμας occurs in *Py.* ii. 80 ἀβάπτιστός εἰμι φελλὸς ὡς ὑπὲρ ἕ. ἅ., where ἅλμας is usually connected with ἀβάπτιστος, not ἔρκος, and ἔρκος is thought to mean 'net'. This parallel makes us disposed to retain both words, and to regard them as a periphrasis for the sea, like the scholiast on *Py.* ii. 80, who explains ἔρκος as ἐπιφάνεια, 'surface'.

17. κορᾶν points to a word like it in the text, either a synonym or κορᾶν differently spelled (κουρᾶν?) or wrongly accented (cf. II. 19, n.). The Graeae or more probably the Gorgons (cf. l. 5 and p. 30) must be meant, and the line may have begun with ἐς followed by a word implying 'abode' (τὰν?). Pindar Fr. 254 from Apollodorus ii. 38 αὗται δὲ αἱ νύμφαι πτηνὰ εἶχον πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν, ἣν φασιν εἶναι πήραν. Πίνδαρος δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος ἐν Ἀσπίδι ἐπὶ τοῦ Περσέως κτλ. may have referred to this dithyramb. σύγγονον πατέρων is obscure. If the stops before and after these words are correct, they seem to be in apposition to νιν, which is

unsatisfactory. As Stuart Jones remarks, *σύγγονον* would be expected to agree with a word like *ἀρετάν* in the next line. *πατέρων* is probably the plural of amplification; cf. Fr. 75. 10 *Βρόμιον ὃν τ' Ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν, γόνον ὑπάτων μὲν πατέρων μέλπεμεν γυναικῶν τε Καδμεῖαν ἔμολον* (v. l. *Σεμέλην*). The resemblances between this passage and ll. 15–19 (*βροτοὶ . . . πατέρων . . . ἔμολον*) suggest that *νιν* might be Dionysus, not Perseus; cf. l. 16, n.

18.]ν is not visible on the facsimile.

19.]πον: or] . ιον. μ of εμολον is corrected from τ.

20. The marginal note refers to *ἐάν*, which ' is rejected (?), being superfluously introduced from the antistrophe ', i. e. l. 34, which ends *ἐ]άν* and also contained a superfluous word. The last letter of απ[.] . ο( ) might be δ or λ, but ἀπ[οβ]άλ(λεται) and ἀποδο(κιμάζεται) are not satisfactory readings.

23. The ο of λεγο(μενον) is not raised above the line, as would be expected if the word is an abbreviation; but]λετο is inadmissible.

28. In the margin are traces of a scholium.

34. *ἐ]άν*: cf. l. 20, n. το κεν περισσον would be expected; cf. l. 6, schol.

II. ' Heracles the bold or Cerberus. For the Thebans.

Formerly both dithyrambic song issued from the lips of men long drawn out and the sigma under suspicion; but now new gates have been opened for sacred choirs: they (sing ?), knowing what manner of festival of Bromius the celestials by the very sceptre of Zeus celebrate in their halls. Beside the majesty of the great mother of the gods begins the beating of drums; therewith swells the music of the castanets and the torch blazing below the yellow pine-brands; therewith resounding laments of the Naiads, wild dances and shouts are stirred in the fury of tossing the neck on high. Therewith moves the almighty thunderbolt breathing fire, and the sword of the god of War, and the valiant aegis of Pallas rings with the hissing of countless serpents. Lightly comes Artemis the lone huntress, who has yoked in the Bacchic revels the race of most savage lions for Bromius, while he is enchanted also by the dancing throng of beasts. Me too, a chosen herald of wise words, the Muse raised up to pray for prosperity (?) for Hellas with its fair dances and chariot-pressing Thebes, where of old, as the story tells, Cadmus by high design won sage Harmonia as his bride, and she hearkened to the voice of Zeus and became the mother of offspring famed among men. O Dionysus, . . .'

1 marg. θρασ[ὺς] Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Κέρβερος: Heracles is called *θρασυμάχανος* in *Ol.* vi. 67. For other examples of alternative titles of dithyrambs cf. p. 28. It is tempting to connect with this ode Pindar Fr. 249[a] (Schol. AB on Homer Φ 194) *Ἡρακλῆς εἰς Ἅιδου κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον συνέτυχε Μελεάγρῳ τῷ Οἰνέως, οὗ καὶ δεηθέντος γῆμαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν Δηάνειραν, ἐπανελθὼν εἰς φῶς ἔσπευσεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν πρὸς Οἰνέα, καταλαβὼν δὲ μνηστευόμενον τὴν κόρην Ἀχελῶον τὸν πλησίον ποταμόν, διεπάλαισεν αὐτῷ . . . δοκεῖ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ποταμῶν μέγιστος εἶναι ὁ Ἀχελῷος· διὸ καὶ πᾶν ὕδωρ τῇ τούτου προσηγορίᾳ καλεῖται. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Πινδάρῳ.* But Fr. 249[b] (**221**. ix. 14), which seems to belong to the passage in question about the Acheloüs, is in a different metre, *πρόσθα μέν σ' Ἀχελωίου τὸν ἀοιδύτατον εὐρωπία κράνα Μέλ[ανό]ς τε ποταμοῦ ῥοαὶ τρέφον κάλαμον.* A fragment concerning Heracles from a dithyramb (Fr. 81) is quoted by Aristides ii. 70 *ὅτι καὶ ἑτέρωθι μεμνημένος περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν διθυράμβῳ τινί· σὲ δ' ἐγὼ παράμιν* (*παρ' ἅμμιν* Boeckh, *παρά νιν* Bergk[4]), *φησίν, αἰνέω μέν, Γηρυόνη, τὸ δὲ μὴ Διὶ* (Δὶ Hermann) *φίλτερον σιγῷμι πάμπαν.* The metre of this from *αἰνέω . . . πάμπαν* corresponds to II. 1–3 *κιβ*|, and the words preceding *αἰνέω* might correspond metrically to the end of an epode; but the capture of the oxen of Geryones is a different exploit, and Fr. 81 is likely to belong to another dithyramb. Fr. 169 (Plato, *Gorg.* 484 b, Aristides, ii. 68, Schol. Pind. *Nem.* ix. 35 *νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς κτλ.*), which mentions Geryones and is in dactylo-epitritic metre, but does not correspond to the extant part of II, and Fr. 168 (Athenaeus, x. 411 b, Philostratus, *Imm.* ii. 24 *δ⟨ο⟩ιὰ βοῶν θερμὰ κτλ.*), which refers to the devouring of an ox by Heracles at the house of Coronus, an

episode connected with the capture of the Cretan bull (Apollod. ii. 5. 7), and is not in dactylo-epitritic metre, certainly have no connexion with our dithyramb.

1–3 (= Fr. 79[a]). Cf. Strabo x. 469 *μάρτυρες δ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπονοιῶν* (sc. concerning the Curetes and Corybantes)· *ὅ τε γὰρ Πίνδαρος ἐν τῷ διθυράμβῳ οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ πρὶν μὲν εἶρπε σχοινοτονίας* (*σχοινοτένειά* edd.) *τ' ἀοιδὰ* (v. l. *ἀοιδαὶ*) *διθυράμβων* (*-βῳ* most MSS.), *μνησθεὶς δὲ* (*δὲ* om. most edd.) *τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὕμνων τῶν τε παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν ὕστερον, μετάβας ἀπὸ τούτων φησί· σοὶ μὲν κατάρχει* (*κατάρχειν* edd.) *μᾶτερ παρὰ μεγάλαι* (v. l. *μεγάλοι*: *μεγάλα πάρα* edd.) *ῥοίμβοι* (*ῥόμβοι* edd.) *κυμβάλων, ἐν δὲ κεχλάδων* (*κεχλάδειν* edd.) *κρόταλ' αἰθομένα τε δᾷς* (*δαΐς* some edd.) *ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις* (= ll. 8–11), *τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀποδειχθέντων νομίμων παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Φρυξὶ περὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν συνοικειῶν ἀλλήλοις*, Athen. x. 455 b *Πίνδαρος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀσιγμοποιηθεῖσαν ᾠδήν, ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησι Κλέαρχος, οἱονεὶ γρίφου τινὸς ἐν μελοποιίᾳ προβληθέντος, ὡς πολλῶν τούτῳ προσκρουόντων διὰ τὸ δυνατὸν* (*ἀδύνατον* edd.) *εἶναι ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ σίγμα καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκιμάζειν, ἐποίησε* (corrupt ?)· *πρὶν μὲν εἶρπε σχοινοτενία* (l. *-τένειά*) *τ' ἀοιδὰ καὶ τὸ σὰν τίβοηλον* (*κίβδηλον* edd.) *ἀνθρώποις*, x. 448 c *καθάπερ οἱ ἄσιγμοι καλούμενοι τῶν γρίφων· ὅθεν καὶ Πίνδαρος πρὸς τὸ ᾱ̃ ἐποίησεν ᾠδήν* (corrupt ?), xi. 467 a *τὸ δὲ σὰν ἀντὶ τοῦ σίγμα Δωρικῶς εἰρήκασιν. οἱ γὰρ μουσικοί, καθάπερ πολλάκις Ἀριστόξενός φησι, τὸ σίγμα λέγειν παρῃτοῦντο διὰ τὸ σκληρόστομον εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον αὐλῷ· . . . καὶ Πίνδαρος δέ φησι· πρὶν μὲν ἦρπε σχοινοτένειά τ' ἀοιδὰ καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον ἀπὸ στομάτων*, Dionysius, *De comp. verb.* 14 *εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ἀσίγμους ὅλας ᾠδὰς ἐποίουν· δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν οἷς φησι· πρὶν μὲν ἦρπε σχοινοτενῆ φωνήεντα* (or other corruptions) *διθυράμβων καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον* (v. l. *κίβδαλον*) *ἀνθρώποις* (v. l. *-ποι*). From these varying forms of l. 3 Hermann restored *καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδιλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων*. The termination of the line is wanting in both ll. 3 and 18, but there is no reason to doubt Hermann's restoration; cf. for the metre l. 7.

1. *σχοινοτένεια*: this is formed on the analogy of *ἡδυέπεια, μουσογένεια*, &c., and means 'stretched out like a rope', 'prolix'; cf. Philostr. *Heroic.* i. 14 *μὴ ἀποτείνειν* (*τὰ ἅσματα*) *μηδὲ σχοινοτενῆ ἐργάζεσθαι*. It does not refer to division into triads, for Π itself is divided into triads or strophes; cf. p. 28 and l. 3, n.

2. The division *ἀοι|δὰ διθυράμβων* would be expected from the arrangement of ll. 19–20, but *δα* (or *δη*) *δ*[does not suit the traces of l. 2, and the real dividing-point of the feet is probably after *ἀοιδά* here and *ζευ-* in l. 20.

3. *καὶ τὸ σὰ*[*ν κίβδαλον*: the meaning of this is a long-standing difficulty. Athenaeus and Dionysius (cf. ll. 1–3, n.) supposed that it referred to the *ᾠδαὶ ἄσιγμοι*, i.e. of Pindar's predecessor, Lasus, Athenaeus x. 455 c proceeding to quote a line without *σ* from Lasus' hymn to Demeter. The epitomator of Athenaeus, followed by Eustathius, p. 1335. 52, misunderstanding this, attributed the composition of odes without *σ* to Pindar himself. Boeckh and Dissen translate *κίβδηλον* '*pravum*', supposing that it refers to the mispronunciation of *σ* in the Dorian dialect (so also Donaldson and Weir Smyth), and that Pindar meant to contrast the old-fashioned odes in which *σ* was used with the new kind without *σ* invented by Lasus, Pindar himself reverting to the old-fashioned type. Sandys (translation of Pindar in the Loeb series), connecting *κίβδηλον* (sc. *ἦν*) with *ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων*, translates 'when the sibilant san was discarded from the lips of men', i.e. was rejected as spurious. The mutilated condition of ll. 4–5 leaves the context obscure in some points, especially as to the precise nature of the transition to the account of the Dionysiac festival in Olympus (cf. ll. 4–6, n.); but it is tolerably certain that the new kind of dithyramb which is contrasted with the old is not the dithyramb of Lasus, but of Pindar himself, as is also shown by the definite reference to himself in l. 23. Hence Boeckh's view of Pindar's relation to the two kinds of dithyramb is just the opposite of what the context demands. Sandys's translation gives the right kind of sense, but *ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων* is much more likely to be dependent on *ἕρπε* than on *κίβδαλον*, and the position of *τ'* indicates that *ἕρπε*, not *ἦν*, is to be supplied with *κίβδαλον*. We are disposed, therefore, to regard *τὸ σὰν κίβδαλον* as

a reference to Lasus' ᾠδαὶ ἄσιγμοι, σάν being used as the equivalent of σίγμα, and κίβδαλον comparing it to base coin which when produced is rejected, and implying a contrast with Pindar's own use of σ, which was unrestricted.

4–6. διαπέπ[τ]α[νται δὲ and πύλαι were suggested by Sandys, νῦν by Lobel, κύ]|κλοισι by Bury. The slight vestiges towards the end of the line suit πυλο[ι rather well, especially the π and λ (for which α is the only alternative); but the preceding lacuna is rather short for the proposed supplement. The metre of l. 4 is fixed by l. 22. For opening the 'gates' of song cf. *Ol.* vi. 27 πύλας ὕμνων ἀναπίταμεν, *Nem.* ix. 2 ἀναπεπταμέναι ξείνων νενίκανται θύραι, Bacchyl. Fr. 5. 2 οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾴστον ἀρρήτων ἐπέων πύλας ἐξευρεῖν. κύ]κλοισι refers to the κύκλιοι χοροί of the dithyramb. To find an anapaest short enough for the lacuna before ε]ἰδότες in l. 5 is difficult. If πύλα[ι is right, ε]ἰδότες must belong to a new sentence and may refer to χοροί (e.g. something like σοφοὶ οἱ ε]ἰδ.); but Bury would connect it with the preceding line, suggesting διαπεπ[ρ]ά[χασι δ' — — — ∪ κύ]κλοισι νέαν [σοφοὶ εὖ ε]ἰδότες | οἵαν Βρόμιος [ἰδ]έαν κτλ., and comparing *Nem.* ix. 3 ἀλλ' ἐπέων γλυκὺν ὕμνον πράσσετε and Eur. *Bacch.* 471 τὰ δ' ὄργι' ἐστὶ τίν' ἰδέαν ἔχοντά σοι; νεαν for νεαι, Βρομιος for Βρομιου, and ιδ]εαν for τελε]ταν are possible readings; but τελε]τὰν (Sandys) suits ἱστάντι particularly well, and the metaphor of the gates is attractive. For Βρομίου [τελε]τὰν cf. *Py.* ix. 97 νικάσαντά σε καὶ τελεταῖς ὡρίαις ἐν Παλλάδος εἶδον. Βρομιωι is inadmissible. The metre of l. 5 is somewhat abnormal. After a choriambus is an anapaest and a cretic, or else an ionic a minore and iambus. For anapaests in dactylo-epitritics cf. e.g. *Py.* i. 2, 6, iii. 4; for 'iambic catalexis' cf. *Ol.* vi. 5, *Nem.* viii. 14.

7. The last syllable of Οὐρανίδαι was marked long by the first hand, short by the corrector, who wished to indicate (rightly) that the word was nom. plur., not dat. sing.; cf. I. 8 ερατᾶι. The syllable is long as a matter of fact, but there was no point in marking it long at the end of a line, unless indeed the first hand wished to connect it with ἐν in l. 8 and scanned *-rănĭdāĭ ēn* together in spite of the hiatus. But, as Housman remarks, the metre of l. 8 corresponds to e.g. *Py.* iv. 296 ϑαιδαλέαν φόρμιγγα βαστάζων πολίταις, and in each case the phrase — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — comes both before and after, so that ᾱι is to be regarded as merely a slip.

8. The last syllable of the line seems to stand by itself (cf. the preceding n.), as frequently in Bacchylides' dactylo-epitritics. In Pindar's there seem to be instances of hypercatalexis in Frs. 29–30 (from an ὕμνος).

ἱ[σ⟨τ⟩ά]ντι: there is not room for στα in the lacuna and the marginal ἱστάντι indicates that the main text was in some respect different. If there had been a wrong accent over ἱ[it ought to have been visible, and there is no doubt that the first hand read ἰσάντι, a Doric form not found in Pindar but quite suitable in itself. ἰσάντι would make sense (cf. ε]ἰδότες in l. 5), but ἱστάντι is preferable.

8–11. σεμνᾷ . . . πεύκαις: this passage (Fr. 79[b]; cf. ll. 1–3, n.) is quoted by Strabo with several corruptions or variations, σοί for σεμνᾷ, μᾶτερ παρά for ματερὶ πάρ, ῥοίμβοι κυμβάλων for ῥόμβοι τυμπάνων, and κεχλάδων for κέχλαδ[ον] (or -δ[εν]). Misled by σοί, modern editors were unable to restore the passage on the right lines. The confirmation of the *schema Pindaricum* κατάρχει . . . ῥόμβοι against emendations is interesting. Another instance occurs in l. 13 μανίαι τ' ἀλαλ[αί] τ' ὀρίνεται, which had been obscured in the quotations of this by Plutarch. Two more occur in ll. 18–19 of the fragmentary dithyramb for the Athenians (Fr. 75); in the epinician odes this construction is rare. κυμβάλων may have stood in Strabo's text of II, but τυπάνων is likely to be right; cf. Catullus, *Atys* 9 *typanum, tubam, Cybelle, tua, mater, initia*, which may even have been an imitation of this passage. Bergk referred to this dithyramb Fr. 80, a quotation from Pindar in a Herculaneum fragment of Philodemus, *De pietate*, which is restored Κυβέ[λα] μᾶτ[ερ θεῶν]. The metre may well be dactylo-epitritic, but there is no place for Fr. 80 in the context of the reference to Cybele in ll. 8–9. Owing to the lacuna at the end of l. 27 the

correction of τῡμπανων to τὔπανων is not absolutely certain, for γᾱ[ρύει (Bury) can there be supplied instead of γὰ[μετάν (Housman); but, as Housman observes, l. 9 seems to be unrhythmical as it stands, since ∪ ∪ – – in this metre is not elsewhere followed by – – ∪ –, unless there is a break between them, as at *Ol.* vi. 4–5 and Bacchyl. viii. 9–10, and scribes have often written τύμπανον where authors did not; e.g. Hom. *Hymn.* xiv. 3, Eur. *Hel.* 1347, Aesch. Fr. 57. 10, Apoll. Rhod. i. 1139, Anth. Pal. vi. 165. 5, and in the Catullus passage cited above the MSS. give *tympanum* against the metre. With τυπάνων l. 9 will have the rhythm of *Ol.* vi. 2 κίονας ὡς ὅτε θαητὸν μέγαρον. The point of ξαι[θα]ῖσι as applied to πεύκαις is not clear: Dissen explains it by the colour of the fire. With ll. 10–12 cf. Soph. *Antig.* 1126–9 σὲ δ' ὑπὲρ διλόφου πέτρας στέροψ ὤπωπε λιγνύς, ἔνθα Κωρύκιαι στείχουσι Νύμφαι Βακχίδες.

12. ἐν δὲ Ναΐδων: – ∪ – ∪ corresponds to – ∪ – – (apparently) in l. 30; cf. l. 19, n., and e. g. *Ol.* iii, epode 1, 4, 5.

13–14. These lines are thrice quoted by Plutarch, (1) *Quaest. conv.* i. 5. 2, (2) vii. 5. 4, (3) *De def. orac.* 14, copied by Euseb. *Praep. evang.* v. 4, p. 185, and Theodoret, *Graec. aff. cur.*, ed. Gaisford, p. 374. In (2) μανίαις τ' ἀλαλαῖς τ' ὀρινόμενοι occurs, the quotation being accommodated to Plutarch's sentence; (1) and (3) have ὀρινομένων for ὀρίνεται; (1) has ἐριαύχενι, (2) and (3) ῥιψαύχενι for ὑψαύχενι. Both ὀρινομένων (which would correspond to Ναΐδων in l. 12) and ῥιψαύχενι seem to be ancient variants (Theodoret, *op. cit.*, p. 375 coins a verb ῥιψαυχενεῖν from the quotation), and ῥιψαύχενι, which occurs nowhere else, is, as Housman remarks, more appropriate than ὑψαύχενι to both κλόνῳ and Ναΐδων: cf. Catull. *Atys* 23 *ubi capita Maenades vi iaciunt hederigerae*, Cic. *II Verr.* iii. 49 *cerviculam iactaturum*, Eur. *Bacch.* 864 δέραν εἰς αἰθέρα δροσερὸν ῥίπτουσα. The metre, as he observes, does not help much in deciding between ῥιψαύχενι and ὑψαύχενι, for though with ῥιψαύχενι the scheme of l. 13 ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ⏑ – ∪ – – – ∪ ⏑ corresponds to the last verse of the epodes in *Py.* iii, e.g. l. 23, – ∪ ∪ – can generally take the place of – ∪ – –, and is preceded by ∪ ∪ – – and followed by – ∪ – in e.g. *Nem.* xi. 14. ῥιψ-(or ὑψ-)αύχενι is apparently the end of a member of the rhythm with *syllaba anceps*, and a member of the rhythm also comes to an end after σὺν κλόνῳ, as the hiatus there proves, so that these two words have to constitute a whole member; cf. |λάσκομαι| in *Ol.* vii. 9 and |αἰῶνος| in *Py.* v. 7. The alternative is to write ξὺν κλόνῳ, but there seem to be only two examples of ξύν in Pindar's MSS., and not one is established by metre, though cf. **1614.** 9.

ἀλαλ[αί]: the first hand seems to have written αλαλ[α]λα originally. The final λα was then crossed out and ι no doubt added above [α], but whether the scribe himself or a corrector made the alteration is uncertain. Several of the MSS. of Plutarch have ἄλλαι for ἀλαλαί, but the third letter here is more like α than λ, and the loop of it, though narrow, does not seem to be a correction.

15–16. κεραυνὸς ἀμπνέων πῦρ: cf. Fr. 146 πῦρ πνέοντος ἅ τε (Pallas) κεραυνοῦ ἄγχιστα δεξιὰν κατὰ χεῖρα πατρὸς (ἡμένα). In l. 15 – ∪ – ∪ occurs twice, very likely as equivalent to – ∪ – – in the antistrophe (lost); cf. ll. 12 and 19, nn.

17. ἀλκάεσσα: in *Ol.* ix. 72 and *Py.* v. 71 ἀλκᾱ́εντας is found, but the metre here requires αε to be separate syllables. The scholium perhaps indicates a variant, but may be no more than αἰγίς accented; cf. l. 19, n.

18. This verse is a Στησιχόρειον. ὄφ[εων is a gloss on δρακόντων.

19. ῥίμφα δ' εἶσιν: – ∪ – ∪ here corresponds to – ∪ – – in l. 1; cf. ll. 12, 15–16, nn. οἰοπόλος: this word, which seems to have been wrongly spelled but rightly accented by the first hand, was wrongly accented by the corrector; cf. l. 17 and I. 17, nn. οἰοπόλος δαίμων (unnamed) occurs in *Py.* iv. 28.

20. The syllable ζευ- really belongs to l. 19; cf. l. 2, n.

21. The misspelling βακχειαις is not corrected. α[γροτέρων was suggested by Sandys and

Bury; cf. *Nem.* iii. 46 λεόντεσσιν ἀγροτέροις. Βρομίῳ (Bury) is required to explain ὁ δέ in l. 22. The metre is practically certain; cf. ll. 1–3, n.

22–3. κα[ὶ θη]ρῶν: so Housman and Bury. The *α* of κα[ί is nearly certain, the only alternative being *ο*. The sentence is suggested by the mention of lions in the line above. Bacchus is flattered not only by the attentions of his fellow-gods, but also by the worship of brute creatures. ἀγέλαι λεόντων occurs in Pind. Fr. 239.

25–6. Cf. Fr. 151 Μοῖσ' ἀνέηκέ με. κα[λ]λ[ιχόρῳ and ὄ[λβον τε were suggested by Bury; Sandys proposes κα[ὶ γ]ε[νεάν with ο[ἰκόν τε, but the traces of a letter after κα[.] suggest *α*, δ, λ, or *υ*. For the late position of τε cf. *Nem.* ix. 34 παρὰ πεζοβόαις ἵπποις τε. That Θήβαις occurred at the end of l. 26 is clear from what follows (cf. Fr. 195 εὐάρματε Θήβα), but a restoration in which εὐχόμενον meant 'boasting myself' rather than 'praying for' would be more appropriate. ἄ[γαλμα is, however, inadmissible in l. 26, the *ο* before the lacuna being almost certain. For the metre of that line cf. l. 7, n.

27. The first hand wrote ποτ αρμονιαν. φ]άμα γα[μετάν is due to Housman, who corrects τυμπάνων in l. 9 to τυπάνων: Bury, retaining τυμπάνων there, proposed φ]άμα γα[ρύει: cf. ll. 8–11, n. The first hand wrote φ]άμεν γα[: the first corrector then added *α* above the line, deleting *ε* and perhaps *ν* also; cf. III. 9, n. As Housman remarks, a verb does not seem necessary with φάμα (sc. ἔστι): cf. Aesch. *Septem* 217–18 ἀλλ' οὖν θεοὺς τοὺς τῆς ἁλούσης πόλεος ἐκλείπειν λόγος, and φάτις in Pindar himself (according to the usually accepted emendation of Bothe) in *Is.* viii. 40 Αἰακίδᾳ, ὅν τ' εὐσεβέστατον φάτις Ἰαολκοῦ τράφειν πεδίον, and *ubi fama* in Stat. *Theb.* i. 699.

28. ὑψι[σταις]ς could be read in place of ὑψη[λαῖ]ς. There is little doubt about the *ς*, *τ* being the only alternative. λαχεῖν κεδ-] (or ἀγ-])|νάν is due to Bury. Nonnus, *Dionys.* iv. 28 sqq., represents Harmonia as at first reluctant to marry Cadmus. Housman prefers ἄγειν σεμ]νάν, comparing *Nem.* v. 47 σεμνὰν Θέτιν Πηλέα θ', Aesch. *Prom.* 560 ἄγαγες Ἡσιόναν . . . δάμαρτα, and, for the present infinitive with ποτέ in a past sense, *Py.* vi. 21–4 τάν ποτ' . . . φαντὶ . . . παραινεῖν. σεμνός has however occurred in l. 8. For πραπίδες in connexion with a suitor he compares *Is.* viii. 30 ἀλλ' οὔ σφιν ἄμβροτοι τέλεσαν εὐνὰν θεῶν πραπίδες.

30. εὔδοξο[ν: if *ξ* is right, the parts of it were joined instead of being written, as elsewhere in **1604**, as a dot between two strokes. The second *ο* is also doubtful, *α* being quite as suitable. But the position of the accent over *ευ* strongly favours ευδοξο[ν, for ευδοκι[μον and -κη[τον are inadmissible, and though a crossed out *τ* might be read in place of *ξ*, ευδοτε[ιραν is not a known word and ευδυ[τ]κ[ιμον is unsatisfactory apart from the wrong accent. At the beginning of the line — ∪ — — corresponds to — ∪ — ∪ in l. 12; cf. l. 19, n. παρ'] ἀνθρώπο[ις γενεάν is due to Bury. Σεμέλαν may be substituted for γενεάν, she being in any case the person chiefly meant, as is shown by the reference to her in l. 32.

31. Διονυσ[must be vocative, for any other case would fill up the lacuna, leaving no room for the letter preceding *θ*, which apparently had an acute accent and was therefore a vowel. Probably Διονυσ[ε was written and the *ε* not elided; cf. τε ορίνεται in l. 13. If the two letters in the lacuna formed a diphthong, the accent ought to have been more to the left.

32. ματέ[ρος: i. e. Semele; cf. l. 30, n. *ο* could be read in place of *ε*.

III. 1. The doubtful λ can be *ν*.

3. στάσις elsewhere in Pindar means 'sedition', but here may, as Bury remarks, refer to the chorus either in the sense of κατάστασις (χορῶν) or of a division; cf. l. 5, n.

5. Bury proposes κατε[ναντί]ον.

6. τεάν must refer to Dionysus, if τε[λετ]άν is right; cf. int. p. 29.

7–8. Bury suggests βαλὼν δὲ] πλόκον σ[τεφά]νων κισσίνων | ἀμφὶ τεὸν κρόταφον, making μελίζοι the end of a clause and connecting ll. 7–8 with ἔλθε in l. 9. A stop may, however, have been lost after κρόταφον. The scholium probably refers to the unusual expression

πλόκον στεφάνων. For πλ[εκτῶν, sc. στεφάνων, cf. Eur. *Hippol.* 73 πλεκτὸν στέφανον. ὄρ[μον (cf. *Nem.* iv. 17) does not suit the vestiges.

9. Apparently φιλιδη was altered first to φιλως δη and then, the correction being crossed out, to φιλαν δη. The ι after φιλ is not crossed out; but the αν above the line begins close to the λ and φιλαν δη (which makes the line end with two choriambi) is metrically preferable to φιλιαν δη or simply φιλιαν. Moreover it is not certain that the ο of φθον was crossed out like the φ and ν when ελθε was substituted, and in II. 27 there is a similar doubt concerning the deletion of a superfluous letter.

πολεᾶ is corrected from πολεω. The mark of quantity is not quite certain, but α alone does not account for all the ink. πόλιν is clearly meant, but no form πολέα is known, though, since πόληα occurs in Hesiod, it does not seem impossible.

10. Bury proposes πελώρ]ιον . . . πρύτανιν, and would see in this line a reference to the Acrocorinthus; but πρυτανι . [may be vocative, as in *Py.* ii. 58.

11.]αμα: the first letter might be λ and the second ν; the third is more like α with a high stop after it than [.]ς. Bury suggests something like ἔποιτο δ'] ἅμα, but the stop is an objection to ἅμα.

12. ἀκναμπτεί, 'inflexibly', is a new adverb. ἄκαμπτος occurs in *Is.* iii. 71 and ἄκναμπτος in the MSS. of *Py.* iv. 72 (ἄκαμπτος Hermann).

13. τὰς ἐπιδορατίδας is a gloss on χάρμας, which was used in the sense of 'spear-shafts' also by Stesichorus and Ibycus according to Schol. Pind. *Ol.* ix. 128.

14–15. Bury suggests ἅλιος δ' ἀ]π[είρα]ντος αὐχὴν ῥύοιτο πα[νάγυριν | ἔρκος τ' ἐγχωρί]ων πέλοι, 'Let the impassable sea-neck protect the festal gathering and be the bulwark of the people,' comparing *Ol.* viii. 48 ἐπ' Ἰσθμῷ ποντίᾳ and Eur. *Med.* 212 πόντου κλῆδ' ἀπέραντον. αὐχήν would on this view mean the Isthmus of Corinth. The general sense of ll. 12–15 is, he thinks, 'Put aside arms and preparations for war, and trust for defence to the Isthmus.' αὐχήν elsewhere in Pindar means the human neck, but that does not combine easily with ῥύοιτο.

17. Perhaps πολυγαθ]έες. αοιδαι can, however, be dative.

18. Bury suggests Σισύφ]οιο or Γλαυκ]οῖο φῦλον, referring to the Corinthians.

19. For πετάλοις ἠρ[ινοῖς (Bury) cf. *Py.* ix. 46 ὅσσα τε χθὼν ἠρινὰ φύλλ' ἀναπέμπει. The first letter of the line might be ρ.

22. Bury suggests στό]μιον ἵπ[πειον (or ἵπ[που), referring either to the legend of Bellerophon and the bridle (φίλτρον ἵππειον) of Pegasus, a story told by Pindar in an ode written for the Corinthian Xenophon (*Ol.* xiii), or perhaps to a particular kind of mouthpiece, i. e. one of the ἵππεια ἔντεα said to have been invented by the Corinthians (*Ol.* xiii. 20).

1605. MENANDER, ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ.

15 × 5·2 cm. Third century.

This exiguous fragment of a comedy, though containing only the beginnings of 27 lines from the top of a column and a few letters from the ends of lines of the preceding column, has some interest, since it can with much probability be identified. The name of a speaker, Γέ(τας), is inserted in the margin against ll. 34–5, and characters of that name are known to have occurred in three of Menander's plays, the Ἥρως, Μισούμενος, and Περινθία (if Koerte is right in assigning 855 to the last-named play), while the apparent mention in l. 25 (cf. l. 29, n.) of Θρασωνίδης, the name of the leading character in the Μισούμενος,

indicates the second of the three. Parts of about 50 lines near the end of that play are extant in **1013**, and there are 14 other fragments of it known, but no correspondence with **1605** is at all likely, though one or two are just possible; cf. ll. 24–5, nn. Geta was the slave of Thrasonides, but who his interlocutor here was is quite obscure. Other known characters in the play are Clinias, Demeas, and Cratea. For the plot, which turned upon the redemption of Cratea through her father Demeas from servitude with Thrasonides, a rough soldier, see **1013**. int. and Koerte, *Menandrea*, li.

The handwriting is a medium-sized sloping uncial resembling **1376** (Part xi, Plate iii), and probably of the third century, to which some dated documents found together with **1605** belong. The speaker's name is written more cursively by a different hand, which does not seem to be appreciably later than that of the main text. Paragraphi occur, indicating changes of speaker, but no stops.

Another papyrus (3rd cent.) containing 23 lines divided between two scenes, which has recently been published by Wilamowitz (*Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.* 1918, 747–9) as part of an uncertain comedy, perhaps by Menander, is probably to be assigned to the Μισούμενος. In the second scene a woman called Cratea unexpectedly recognizes her father, whereupon the owner of the house intervenes, and in the margin of l. 18 Γε( ) occurs as the name of a speaker. Wilamowitz, though noticing the agreement with the Μισούμενος with regard to Cratea, attributes the fragment to a different play, chiefly because Γε( ) is supposed also to occur in the margin of l. 12 in reference to a character who is addressed in the next line as *τηθία*. From this he infers that Γε( ) is an unknown feminine name. But it is much more likely that Γε( ) in l. 18 is Γέ(*τας*), and that in l. 12, where the decipherment is admitted to be very uncertain, either the marginal note is to be read differently or some rearrangement of the supposed speakers is to be introduced. Geta and Cratea will then be the characters in the Μισούμενος, the father will be Demeas, and the owner of the house Thrasonides, the action being highly appropriate to that play. This explanation is confirmed by the striking parallelism between Fr. 11 of the Μισούμενος, *ἀφανεῖς γεγόνασιν αἱ σπάθαι* and l. 11 of the Berlin papyrus, *]ρ οἰκῶ τὰς σπάθας τῶν γειτόνων.*

Col. i.		Col. ii.
		ουκετι [
	25	*Θρασω*[*νιδ*
		τι ταν[*α*
		καλως [
9 lines lost		*ου παιδ*[

```
                                        ζηλοτυπ̣[ο
                                    30  α νυν λε̣[γ
                                        εις τουρ[γον
                                        διακοσι[
                    ]ει̣ς̣          10   νη Δια τ[
                    ]                   α̣ν̣α̣γε̣ [·] . [
                    ]ς̣             Γε(τας)  απο τη̣ς̣ . [
                    ]ν̣             36   φαινε[
                    ]θη                 διδοασιν̣ [
                      ]             15   προσευξ[
              ] . [. . . . .]             ουτως απ̣[
              ]ν κακον              40   ουκ εξ̣α[
                   ]                      πως ειπ̣[
                   ]α̣ι                    τα ρημα[τ
                     ]                20   λε̣γων τ̣[
                     ]                      ελεγεν α̣[
              ] π̣αρην               45   ναι φησι̣ [
                        ].                  ηκουσα[
          . . . . .                         εκπλει . [
                                            α̣γαθα λ[
                                            [σα ?]φει τι̣[
                                        50  [κ]α̣λως̣ . [
                                            . . . . .
```

24. *ουκετι* is apparently the first word in the last line of a small detached fragment of **1013** (l. 26). But an actual coincidence is unlikely.

25. *Θρασω[νιδ* : this might possibly coincide with the corrupt Fr. 14 (Koerte) of the *Μισούμενος*, which is generally restored *μισοῦσι μὲν | Θρασωι⟨ίδην⟩, ὦ πάτερ, ἀπεκτάγκασι δ' οὐ.*

29. *ζηλοτυπ[ο* : cf. *Περικειρομένη* 408–9 *ὁ δ' ἀλάστωρ ἐγὼ | καὶ ζηλότυπος ἄνθρωπος*, spoken by Polemon, the counterpart of Thrasonides in that play.

34. Perhaps *αναγε [σ]ε[αυτον*, as in *Σαμία* 145. The *γ* is however very doubtful and *αναισ̣ .] . [* can be read. It is not clear whether **Γε(τας)** refers to l. 34 or to l. 35. The surface of the papyrus between ll. 33–4 is rubbed, but there is no trace of a paragraphus, so that if **Γε(τας)** refers to l. 34 there was probably a change of speaker in the middle of that line.

1606. LYSIAS, *Orations πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην, Against Theomnestus, &c.*

Height 29·5 cm. Late second or early third century.
Plate II (Fr. 6, Cols. i–ii).

Lysias has hitherto been represented in papyri only by some small third-century B. C. pieces of the oration against Theozotides (P. Hibeh 14); but the following fragments of several of his lost private speeches are more extensive and valuable. Like **1607–8** and **1612**, they form part of the first of the three large finds of literary papyri in 1905–6, which also produced **841–4**, **852–3**, **1012**, **1016–17**, **1364**, and **1376**, the publication of this find being now completed. The small group consisting of Frs. 8–18 was found separately in a different part of the same mound, but no doubt belongs to the same roll. Originally about 200 in number, the fragments have been reduced by combinations to 150. Much the longest of them is Fr. 6, which contains (1) the last three columns of a speech, with the title (ll. 237–8) *πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην ὑπὲρ θεραπαίνης* followed by a blank space, (2) the first two columns of a speech directed against a certain Theomnestus by an unnamed plaintiff. *πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην* is known as the title of a speech by Lysias (no. lxi) from Harpocration, who makes two quotations from it, Fr. 122 (Sauppe) *ἀφανὴς οὐσία καὶ φανερά* and Fr. 123 *Ἱερώνυμος*. Fr. 122 seems to be connected with Fr. 2 of the papyrus, where *οὐσ]ίαν . . . ἀφ[ανίσ]αι* is a probable restoration in ll. 29–32, and *φαν]ερά* is possible in l. 48; but *Ἱερώνυμος* does not seem to occur in **1606**, though it is tempting to restore his name in l. 89. The title of the second speech would at first sight be expected to be *κατὰ Θεομνήστου*: but two orations of Lysias with that title are extant (x and xi), xi being merely an abbreviation of x. Since both of these are quite distinct from the speech against Theomnestus in the papyrus and presumably refer to a different person, while Harpocration seems to have known of only one speech *κατὰ Θεομνήστου*, i. e. the extant oration x (Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, i. 611), the title of the second speech in **1606** is likely to have been something else. Fr. 9, belonging to the smaller group, contains parts of the last 16 lines of what is obviously a third speech, with part of the title, which seems to be unknown, and a few letters from the beginning of what is much more likely to be a fourth speech than the oration *πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην*, and among the numerous minute scraps from the main find are certainly three (Frs. 19, 20, and 22), and perhaps two more (Frs. 21 and 44), which contain parts of titles. The minimum number of speeches represented by the fragments as a whole is four, a figure which could be obtained by assigning Fr. 9. ii to the speech *πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην*, Fr. 19 (*κατὰ Θεομνήσ]του*?) or Fr. 22 to the speech against Theomnestus, and Fr. 20 to the title of the third

speech, and ignoring Frs. 21 and 44. But at least six of the lost orations are much more probably represented, and though all of these may have been quite short, it is clear that the fragments are widely scattered over different parts of the roll. Lysias is credited by Plutarch (*Vita Lys.* 836 a) with no fewer than 425 speeches, of which Dionysius and Caecilius recognized 233 as genuine. The names of about 170 are known, and 34 are extant.

The script is a handsome uncial approximating towards the early biblical type, like **1234** (Part X, Plate iv) and **1365** (Part XI, Plate vi), and probably belongs to the early part of the third century or even the end of the second. Iota adscript was generally written. Paragraphi and two kinds of stops, in the high and middle position, are employed; that Fr. 82, in which a coronis occurs, belongs to **1606** is not certain. Fr. 6, in which the upper and lower margins are preserved, shows that there were 46–49 lines in a column. The other fragments are or may be from the middles of columns except when it is otherwise stated. The lines, which tend to begin and end more to the left as the column proceeds, range from 15 to 22 letters, generally having 18 or 19, and the >-shaped sign is used for filling up short lines. Deletions are indicated by a line drawn (by the first hand) above the letters in question; but the text has not apparently been subjected to any independent revision, and several mistakes are noticeable, generally omissions; cf. ll. 47, 115, 139, 141, 173, 217, 349–56, 536.

Of the oration *πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην* the three concluding columns (ll. 126–238), though requiring a good deal of restoration, are fairly well preserved, and some intelligible passages are provided by four other fragments (1–2 and 4–5) evidently belonging to earlier columns of the same speech (ll. 7–19, 28–47, 76–86, 114–24). The respective order of these is doubtful, but Fr. 4 may be placed below Fr. 2 with an interval not exceeding 2 or 3 lines between ll. 48 and 76; cf. ll. 38–44, n. Frs. 3 and 26 also probably belong to this oration, and perhaps Frs. 28–30, 87, and 100–1. It must have been one of Lysias' more important speeches, being concerned, like the oration against Eratosthenes (xii), with the administration of the Thirty Tyrants and his own grievances. In xii Lysias prosecuted Eratosthenes, who was one of the Thirty, for the murder of his brother Polemarchus (cf. **1606**. 8–9, 161); the present action mainly turned on the question of the restoration of Lysias' property on his return from exile. As the title implies, the speech was on the side of the defence; but that the real defendant was not the *θεράπαινα* but Lysias himself, is clear not only from the general tenour of the fragments, in which Lysias is very prominent, but from the expression *φεύγει τὴν δίκην* applied to him in ll. 183–4, and the closing appeal in l. 221 *ἀποψηφίσασθαι Λυσίου*. How the *θεράπαινα* became involved in the case does not appear, but presumably she was acting merely as Lysias' agent. With the plaintiff Hippo-

therses were associated one or more other individuals, the plural being employed in reference to the side of the prosecution, which is called οὗτοι in ll. 32 and 229 and perhaps οἱ ἀντίδικοι in l. 133. Nicostratus and Xeno[cles] (ll. 17–18) may well be two of the persons meant, and possibly Sosia[des] (ll. 92–3, n.). The dispute was concerned with the ownership of property (οὐσία) worth 70 (?) talents, formerly belonging to Lysias, which had been seized by the Thirty and apparently sold by them to Hippotherses and his associates (ll. 28–34), and which Lysias was now trying to recover. By the terms of the amnesty arranged at the time of the restoration of the democracy in B.C. 403, sales made during the administration of the Thirty remained valid; but unsold property reverted to its original owners, an exception being made in the case of land and houses, i.e. immovable property, which were to be returned in any case (ll. 38–48). This reference to the amnesty is important, confirming Grote's views (*Hist. of Greece*, viii, ch. 66) on the nature of the agreement; but the precise application of it to the dispute between Hippotherses and Lysias is obscured by the incompleteness of Frs. 1–5. Lysias evidently regarded the terms of the amnesty as in favour of his contentions, but Hippotherses too may have appealed to it, and perhaps the interpretation was one of the chief points of dispute. In ll. 13–17 Lysias complains that he was being prevented by the prosecution from buying back his own property from the purchasers; but in ll. 76 sqq. he is found objecting to a claim of Hippotherses for half the price of, apparently, the οὐσία described in ll. 28–34, and in ll. 114 sqq. he criticizes the legality of the sales effected by the Thirty. This evidence is not very easy to combine into a connected argument; but apparently the οὐσία bought from the Thirty by Hippotherses contained land and houses, and Hippotherses refused to surrender these without compensation, whereupon Lysias, through the θεράπαινα, took some step towards ejecting Hippotherses which resulted in the prosecution, possibly in some form of δίκη ἐξούλης. The peroration, to which ll. 127–236 belong, does not throw much light on the facts of the case, which are referred to only in general terms (ll. 224–36), but in itself is of much interest, since it contains an eloquent comparison of Lysias' behaviour towards the State with that of his opponent. The patriotism of Lysias, who after losing his brother and much property made large sacrifices in support of the democrats, is recorded in a passage which was evidently before Plutarch when writing his account of this part of Lysias' life (ll. 163–71, n.), and is contrasted with the pro-Spartan zeal of Hippotherses. The speech must have been delivered very soon after the restoration of the democracy, i.e. in 403 or 402 B.C.

The second oration, that directed in prosecution of Theomnestus, after a very short introduction (ll. 239–46), proceeds to the narration of the facts. The

unnamed plaintiff claims to have lent his friend Theomnestus 30 minae in order to pay a debt to a certain Theozotides for which judgement had been entered against Theomnestus. The transaction took place without witnesses, and Theomnestus, having subsequently quarrelled with the plaintiff, now denied the loan (ll. 246–61). After a mutilated passage apparently explaining the nature of the quarrel, which seems to have been connected with the guardianship of some property, and the unsuccessful attempts of the plaintiff to get his money returned (ll. 261–95), a dilemma is propounded for the defence. Theomnestus must maintain either that he borrowed the money from some one else, or that he did not borrow any money at all, in order to pay Theozotides (ll. 295–301). Of these alternative lines of defence the first is rebutted in ll. 301–40, Fr. 7 probably belonging to the column following Fr. 6. v, while the second is dealt with in ll. 340–66 by putting a number of questions designed to show that Theomnestus would not have run the risks which he actually incurred, if he had had the requisite money at hand. The rest of the speech is lost, and there are no indications of the date of its delivery.

The third speech (Frs. 8, 9. i and probably some of Frs. 10–18), apparently against a person whose name ended in -ylius, seems to have been concerned with the sale of a ship at Carthage, and a question of partnership; but there is nothing to show what was the subject of the fourth speech (Fr. 9. ii and probably some of Frs. 10–18). With regard to the remaining fragments the more or less probable position of Frs. 13, 16, 28, 45, 53, 73, 80, and 128 has been ascertained. Fr. 25 apparently comes from a fifth speech about an inheritance (*κλῆρος*), and Frs. 31 and 39, which probably belong to the same oration, may be connected with a reference in Harpocration to *βεβαιώσεως δίκη* in two unnamed speeches of Lysias (cf. l. 493, n.), while probably one of Frs. 19–22 belongs to the title of it. Fr. 64 might come from the speech *πρὸς* Ἀλκιβιάδην or that *πρὸς* Ἀρχεβιάδην.

We are indebted to Mr. E. Lobel and Dr. C. Hude for several good suggestions in the restoration of this papyrus.

(*a*) *πρὸς* Ἱπποθέρσην.

Fr. 1.

11 letters]κ[. . . . . 15 δ]ους τοις εωνημεν̣[οις
10 „]αμ[. . . . . [[τ]α εαυτου]] δυναται κ̣[ομιζε
5 „ συκ]οφαν̣[τ . . . . . σ]̣θαι Νικοστρατος γα̣[ρ δι
8 „]υ̣τ̣[. . . . . κ]αζεται μετα Ξενοκ[λεους ?
5 7 „] ουτος . [. . . . . το]υ πωλη[σαντος . . . . . .

. . . . .]ταια[. . . . . .
. . . . . ε]ξεφυ[γε]ν τ̣ο̣[ν δε α
δ̣ελ̣φ̣[ο̣ν̣ αυ̣τ̣[ο]υ̣ [Πολεμαρχον
] απεκτειναν και την̣ [ουσι
α]ν̣ αφειλοντο και [εως
με]ν εν Πειραιει ωιχε[το η
ξι]ου κατελθων απ̣[οφε
ρ]εσθαι νυνι δε επε[ιδη η ?
κ]ει ουδε την τιμην̣ [απο

. .]να ασπι̣[δ 12 letters
. .]ο παρα[14 „
πε]ντηκον[τα 11 „
δ]ραχμω[ν 11 „
.]ν̣ω̣ . [14 „
. .]δους τ̣[13 „
.]σθαι ο . [13 „
.]ι̣τας σ̣[13 „

Fr. 2.

Col. i.

[.] . [. . . . . σ]υλ
ληφ[θ . . . . . ουσ]ιαν
δε ε̣β̣δ̣[ομηκο]ν̣τα τα
λαντων̣ [απεδο ?]ν̣το ην̣
ου̣τ̣οι ουτ αφ̣[ανισ]αι ουτ απο
δοσθαι πολ̣[λων] ημερων
ε̣δυν̣α[ντο ε]π̣ε[ι]δ̣[η] τ̣[οι]
νυν μεθ̣ [υ]μ̣ων̣ φ̣[ευ]γων
Λυσιας [ωιχ]ετο και μ̣ε̣τ̣[α]
του υμ[ετ]ερου πληθους
κατηλθεν κελευουσων
των συνθηκων τα μεν
πεπραμενα τους εωνη
μενους εχειν τα δε α
[π]ρατα τους κατελθοντας
[κ]ομιζεσθαι ουτος ουτε γην
[ου]τ οικιαν κεκτημενος
[α] κ̣αι αι συνθηκαι τοις κα
[τε]λθουσιν απεδιδοσαν
[εα]ν δε {αν δ̣[ε]} αποδω[σ]ι̣
[. . . . . .]τ̣ο̣[. . .]ερα

Col. ii.

[
[
π̣[
κ[
α[
ιπ̣[
βο[
δια̣[
απ̣[
σαφ̣[
δεπ̣[
ελθω[
ωιχετ[ο
λ̣ων α[
[ε]κειν[
ποιησα̣[
σασαν̣[
ως ασπ[ιδ
ησαμ̣ε̣[ν
[
σι[
τ̣[

Fr. 3.

π]ολλων̣ [
]ιπομ[
ε]ω̣νημεν[
]των Ιππο[θερσ
]π̣τα̣[

Fr. 4. Col. i.

. . . .] μετα τα[υτα] τοι
[νυ]ν ω ανδρες δικασται τ[ο
[ημ]ισυ της τιμης ηξι
[ου π]αρα Λυσιου λαβειν λε
[γων] τας εαυτου συμφο
[ρ]ας ωσπερ τουτου θησαυ
[ρ]ον [ε]πι των τριακοντα
[ε]υρηκοτος αλλ ουκ απολω
[λε]κοτος τα οντα διαγα
[να]κτουντος δ αυτου και
[χαλε]πως φεροντος προς
[. . . . .]ντιλ . . .
[. . . . .]υμ[.] . . α
[. . . . .]υλου Αχαρ
[νεως . . . . .]πουσιν αυτω
[. . . . .] παραλαβων
[. . . . .] τον Σωσια
[δην ? . . . . .]νειστην η
[. . . . .] συγκειμε
[ν . . . . .]ος ωμολο
[γ . . . . .]εν τοις αν
[. . . . .]ομε
[ν . . . . .] ανηρ
[. . . . .]ενωι
[. . . . .]σεδει
[. . . . .]ν[. .]

Fr. 4. Col. ii.

προ[
δικη
ν[.]λυ
γεν . [
του[
τροπ[
δωυ[
σινα[
ξαντος [
ον[.] . [.]τ[
τοσ[

Fr. 5.

[. . . . . δεινο]ν γαρ
[αν ειη ω ανδρες δικ]ασται [
[ει κ]ατηλθε⟨τε⟩ μ[ε]ν ως αδ[ι
[κ]ουμενοι των δε οντων |
[α]ποστερεισθε ως αδικουν[
[τε]ς· καιτο[ι] δικαιως αν
[οργιζοι]σθε τοις εωνημε
[νοι]ς τα υμετερα εν ταις τοι
[αυ]ταις συμφοραις πρω
[το]ν μεν γαρ οι τριακον[τα
[ουδεν α]ν επωλουν ει οι [ω
[νησομ]ενοι μη ησαν ε[.
[. . . . .]τ[. .]γκαν ε[. .]υ
[. . . . .]ων εν . . . .

Fr. 6.

Col. i. Plate ii.

[. . . . . συ]νθη
[κ . . . . . το]υς νομους
[. . . . . ακη]κοατε η
[. . . . .]ας δικαιοτε
[ρον . . . . .]ντας λε

Col. ii + Fr. 80. Plate ii.

[Ηλει]ον ξ[ενο]ν οντα ε
αυ[τω]ι επει[σεν] αυτον δυ[
ο ταλαντα π[αρ]ασχειν τ[ε
λει και αντι τ[ο]υτων ουδε
μιαν χ[αρ]ιν ουδε δωρεαν

[γειν . . . . .]ς βελτιους·
[. . . . . τ]ου[ς] αντιδι
[κους . . .]εισ[. . . . .] υμιν
[. . . . .] τουτων επιτρεπο
[μεν α]κουσαντας τα Λυσι
[αι και Ι]πποθερσηι πεπρα
[γμεν]α ὁποτεραν βουλεσθε
[κρισιν ?] πραγματος ψηφι
[σασθαι] περι τουτων οπο
[⟨τε⟩ρος βελ]τιων ων περι την
[ημετερ]αν πολιν τυγχα
[νει δεο]μαι δ υμων ακου
[σαι ινα κ]αι ουτος υμιν δο
[ξας χρ]ηστος ειναι προθυ
[μηται ε]πι του λοιπου και ο
[Ιπποθερ]σης ακουσας τα
[προσηκ]οντ αυτωι βελτι
[ων το λοι]πον ηι οτ[ι] μεν
[ουν ? . . .]α Λυσι[. . . . υ]μιν
[. . . . .]επ[. πα]ντε
[λως ? δηλο]ν εω[ς] μ[ε]ν γαρ υ
[μεις ηυδα]ιμονειτε πλου
[σιωτατος η]ν των μετοι
[κων επειδ]η δε συμφο
[ρα εγενετο] επεμενε
[ουδε γ]αρ ελαχιστον με
[ρος των υμε]τερων δυστυ
[χιων . . . .]υσεν ανομως
[υπο των τρια]κοντα και
[αδελφου και] χρηματων
[πολλων απεσ]τερημ[ε]νο[ς]
[επει δε φευ]γων ωιχετο
[επικουρους] τριακοσι
[ους επεμψεν ?] εις την κα
παρ υμιν κεκομισται και
φευγων μεν τοιουτος ην
κατελθων δε ουδενα πω
[π]οτε Αθηναιων ελυπη
[σε]ν ουτε περι των αυτου
α[ν]αμνημισκων ευερ
γ[εσι]ων ουτε περι των αλ
λ[ο]τριων ονειδιζων αμαρ
[τη]ματων νυν δ αναγ
κηι περι αυτου λεγειν υ
πο τοιουτου γαρ φευγει την
δικ[η]ν ος επι μεν των τε
τρα[κο]σιων φευγων ωιχε
το εκ Δεκελειας δε ορμω
μενος μ[ε]τα των πολε
μιων ε[π]ι τη[ν] πατριδα
εστρατευ[σεν οι δ]ε της πο
λεω[ς εχθροι κατηγα|
γον αυ[τον και]| π[ολι]την
υμε[τερον επ]οιησαν
ωστ| οιμαι πασ|ι δηλον
ειναι οτ[ι] μ[ειο]ν νυνι
φρονει των τ[ειχων ωικο
δομημενων [η των
τοτε καθηιρημενων [
ουδ ομ[ο]ιας ελπιδας ε
χει επ[ι τα]ις υμετεραις
ευτυχ[ιαις] και συμφοραις
ειτα τ[ελεος ?] ων [π]ολιτης
[[και]] ουδ[επωπ]οτε αυτωι
μεταμεληθ[σα]ν ο[υδε δι
α την ηλικι[α]ν β[ελτι
ων γεγενημεν[ος συκο
φαντει τους πολλ[ους με

[θοδον και π]αρεσχετο
[χρηματα τε δ]ραχμας
7 lines lost
θ α υμας ειργα[σ]α[το . . .
και ταυ[. . .]υ[. . . . . .
ζοντ[. . . . . .
αριστα [. . . . . .
ρον Λυσι[. . . . . .
και πει[τ . . . . . .
των απ[. . . . . .
μενος . [. . . . . .
[. .]ν αλλ[. . . . . .

Fr. 6. Col. iii.

Λ[υσιαν δε χαριν] παρα[
του [δημου απολαμ]βαν[ειν ⟨ευ⟩
εργ[εσιαν] την μεγι
στ[ην πεποη]κοτα δεο
μα[ι ου]ν υμων ω ανδρες
δικασται αποψηφισασθαι
Λυσιου μεμνημενους
και τ[ο]υτου κ[αι] των αλλων
των ει[ρ]ημενων ει δε
μ[η] τις εσται τουτου ανθρω
πων δυστυχεστερος ει τα
[μεν] αυτοι βιαι ληψονται
τ[α] δ υμεις δωσετε η τις
το[υ]των ευδαιμονεστε
[ρος] ει μη μονον [[περι]] των
[τοτ]ε πραχθεντων συγ
[γνω]μην αυτοις εξετε
[αλλα] και νυνι περι ων
[αν ει]ς υμας εισιωσιν ο
[σα] αν κελευωσιν ψηφι
εισθε
προς Ιπποθερσην
υπερ θεραπαινης

(*b*) *Against Theomnestus.*

Fr. 6. Col. iv.

[φαι]νεται [δι]α το[υ] . . [.]
[. . . . .]του Θεομνηστος
[προς ?] υμας [σχ]εδον παν
[. . . .]ναι ουτω γαρ δι ε
[θηκε ?]ν ωστε μη μο
[νον επ]ιτροπους ειναι κε
[. . . α]λλα κ[α]ι την ουσιαν
[. . . . . ον]τι δ εταιρωι

Fr. 6. Col. v.

[
[
[
ο[
δ[
την αναγκην [. . . . . .
σεως ουδ αυτος αν[. . . .
τει αναγκη δ αυ[τωι

[Θεο]μ̣ν̣[ησ]τ̣ωι τριακον
[τ]α μνας εδωκα δικην
δεον εκτισα[ι Θ]εοδοτιδηι
πριν δυναι τον ηλιον ει
δε μ̣η̣ υπερημερο̣ν̣ ειναι
δους δε ωσπερ εικο[s] αν[ε]υ
μαρτυρων αποστ[ε]ρου[μ]ε
νος αναγκαζομαι δικα
ζεσθαι Θεομνηστος δε
προ του μεν ην μοι φιλος
και εταιρος νυνι δε πει
σθεις υπο των εμων εχθρων
ταυτα τε πραττει και αλ
λο̣ ο̣τι̣ο̣υ̣ν αν εις εμε [ε]τολμη
σεν· πριν δ̣[ε ταυτη]ν η
[μι]ν̣ την δ[ιαφορ]αν γενε
σ̣θ̣[α]ι ουτε η[νωχλη]σα ουτε
απητησα [το αργ]υριον ου
δε̣ . [. . . . . π]ολυς εξο
[. . . . . .]μ̣ν̣ δε εωρων
. . . . . επι]τροπην
ουσ[ιας αυτω κα]τ̣εσκευα
σμε̣[νην . . . .] . ν̣το με
εκλ[. . . . . .]ν̣ τηι της α
π̣[. . . . . .]τ̣ε οτε εδω
κ̣ [αυτω ανευ μ]αρτυρων·
δους̣ [δε και την] απαιτη
σιν [. . . . . .]ς̣ εναντι
ον ε[. . . ποιο?]υ̣μενος
ηγη[σαμην περ]ι̣εργον
ειναι[. . . . .] μονον
α̣[. . . . . .]τερων
τ̣[. . . . .] . ν
εισ̣[. . . . .] . ι̣
ει μη παρ εμου τ[ο αργυ
ριον ε̣χει δυοιν θατ̣[ερον
η παρ ετερου φ̣α̣[σ]κ[ειν ει
ληφεναι η αυτ[ον το παν?
εκτετικεναι τω̣[ι Θεοδο
τιδηι ει μ[ε]ν το[ινυν
πα̣ρ̣] ετερου φησει [ειλη
[φεναι] καπ[. . . . . .
[
[
[
[
[. . . . .] . απ̣[.
[. . . . .]ειν̣[.
[. . . . .]ν μη απο[.
[. . . . .]ι τοκον α . [
[. . . . .] υφ ετερω[ν
τ̣[. . . . .]να τοκον [.
[. . . . .] παρ εμο̣[υ?
ε̣ . [. . . .]σ̣ειν του σ̣υνι̣[δο?
το[s . .] . την απορ̣ιαν ο̣[
κ̣ν̣[ειν] δεηθηναι· π̣[αρα
δε των μηνυσ̣ο̣ντω̣[ν
τοις εχ[θ]ρ[ο]ις αξ[ι]ουν δα̣[
νειζ[ε]σθαι· κα[ι]τοι π[ως
εικος τα μεν εμα ε[τε
ροις σ̣υνεκδιδ[οσθαι αυ
τωι δε παρ ετερω̣ν δ̣[α
νειζεσθ[αι] ως δ ου . [. .
τος η̣ξ̣[ιω]σ̣[ε]̣ν̣ αυτ̣ωι μ̣[. .
οντος παρ ετερου δαν[ει
ζεσθαι μεγα υμ[ι]ν τε̣[
κμηριον ερω ο[τε] γαρ [ε

εϲτ[. . . . . .]θατε[ ]
επ̣[. . . . . .] ο̣υν̣ τ̣ι̣ ε
ξ̣ι̣[. . . . . τ]ο αργυρι
ον [. . . . . .] . εις εστι[ ]
285 μ . [. . . . . .] . εξ̣ αυ
τ[. . . . . τ]ο̣υ̣ πρα
γ̣[ματος . . . . . .] ποιη

330 χο[ρ]ηγει αν[δρα]σι [εις Δι
ονυσια πα[. . . . . χι
λ[ι]ας δραχ[μας . . . . . μι?
σθον διελυ̣σε . . . . . .

Frs. 7 + 45 + 73.

333a [.]ν̣οι ̇. . . . . .
334 περι τ̣[. .]ο̣υ[.]α . . [
335 μου ο|κνειν̣ δε̣η̣[θηναι? . .
τ̣ε δε | περι του βοος π̣[. . . . .
[ε]π̣ ε|μοι οικειωι οντ[ι . . . .
[.]αι | π̣ρος μεν ουν τ̣[ο παρ ε
τ|ερ[ο]υ φασκειν ει[ληφε
340 [να]ι̣ ταυτα λεγω α̣ν̣ [δε . .
[. . .] .|οντος αργυρ[ιου . .
[. . υ]μ̣α̣ς̣ τ̣ο̣ν̣ Θεο[μνηστον?
[εντ]ε̣υθεν χρη [εξεταζειν?
[πω]ς̣ εικος εστιν η̣[. . . . . .
345 [. .]ς̣ αργυριου π̣ε̣[ρ]ι̣ι̣δ̣[ειν] ε̣
[αυ]τον εις τον ε̣σ̣χ̣α̣[τον] κιν
δ[υ]νο̣ν̣ ελθοντα κα[ι το]σαυ
τη̣ν̣ [δ]υ̣ν̣αμιν επι[δ]ε̣ι̣ξ̣αι
τοις εχθροις και ⟨τις⟩ ουτ[ω] σφο

350 δρα επ[ε]τ̣ρ̣ε̣π̣ε τη[ι τ]υχη[ι
ε̣ι̣ [κ]αι τ̣[ι] εξαιφνης [ε]πα
θεν περι το σωμα αμα
και τον βιον αναγ[κασθ]η
ναι παθειν εις τουτ̣[ο πρ]ο̣
355 [ηκο]ντα ωστε ει εδυ [ο] ηλι
[ος] υπερημερου οντ[ος κ]αι
[τι]ς̣ ουτως ανοητος οσ̣τ̣[ι]ς̣
[αυ]τ̣ο̣ν̣ παρασκευαζει [υ
[πο] τοις εχ[θ]ροις γενεσθαι
360 [η τ]ις ουτως αφρων οστις
[. . . . . .]ε̣ι̣ ολιγου δειν α
[. . . . . .]ναι η τις υ
[. . . . . .] οστις λ̣[. .] . ν
ι̣. . . . .]α̣ι̣μ̣ε̣̇. . . .
365 [. . . . . .]ι̣ εξο . . . .
. . . . . .] . [. . . .

(c) *Against . . . ylius, &c.*

Fr. 8.		Fr. 9. Col. i.	Fr. 9. Col. ii.
[μ̄αρ]τυρ[ες̄		[. . . . .] υμ[ιν?	390 |
[πα]λιν τ[ο]ινυν [ω] ανδρε[ς		[. . . . .]υτων τοις μαρτυ	[
[δικ]ασται ως τη[ν] ναυν	375	[σι]	[
370 [εν Κ]αρχηδονι απ[ε]δοτ[ο		[ ] μ̄αρτυρες̄	[

[μα]ρτυρησουσιν [υ]μιν ο̣[ι
[επι]πλεοντε[ς . . . . . .

Fr. 10.

]α̣τ̣α̣π̣[
]. δ[.] . . . [
]. ε και [.]σ[
]εις μεντ̣[
] παρ ετερω̣[ν ?
]ας δε λει[
] διαλλα[
]ε . [

[ως με]ν̣ τ̣οινυν ω ανδρες
[δικασ]ται ουκ εγενομην
[αυτ]ωι κ[ο]ινωνος ακ[ου
[σατε] των μαρτυρων και
[. . . . .]. αποδομε
[ν . . . . .]ν̣ αποδοσθαι
[. . . τ]α̣υτα τοινυν ω αν
[δρες δικαστ]αι σκοπουν
[τες . . . . .]μ . . . υ[. .]ε[.
[. . . . .]α̣ . . αδ . [. . .
[. . . την] ναυν [.]ε . . . [. .
[. . . . ψη]φισα[σ]θε

[π̄ρος] . υλιον̄

τ̣α . [
δικ[
κα . [
λυ[
ον[
πη[
[
εσ[
τ̣ο[
τ̣[

Fr. 11.

[. . . . .] . τ̣[
[. . . .]τ̣[.]λλ[
[. . . . .] . [
[.]υ̣ . μ[
ο̣ντα[.] . δικαι[
[.]ειν δη τισιν α[
[.]ου[.]αντα α̣ρ . [. . . ου
τω σφοδρα μου [κατε
φρονησεν [ω]σ̣τ̣[ε . . .
σθα[ι] αντ[
[. .]ω δειν̣οτ[
[. . .]τ̣ε[. .]ν̣τ[

Fr. 12.

]λου . [. .
] . ιν̣[.] . [. .
] . ον οντα[
]ν̣ φευ[
[γ]ρια
] α̣δικως α
]υ οιον̣ ου
]σα̣τ̣ε
] . . . ετολμα
] . πραγμα·
]τον̣[. . .
]γα̣[. . .

Fr. 13.

top of col.
] μαρτυρ[
]ομαι
[μαρτυρες]

Fr. 14.

π̣[.] . [. . .]η[
δυ ετη προσ[εφα?
σκε βουλεσθαι α̣[
με ποιησασθ[αι
end of col.

Fr. 15.

[. .]ο̣ησ̣τ̣[
δ̣ανειζ̣[
. . . ε̣λ̣[
δ̣[

Fr. 16.

]π̣[ο]υ
]νη
]εφα

Fr. 17.

] . σ̣τ . [
]μεν̣ . [
] . . [

Fr. 18.

] . ν̣[
]ειτ̣[
] . ξ . [

(*d*) MISCELLANEOUS.

Fr. 19

456]τοῦ

Fr. 20.

457 προς [

Fr. 21.

458] παραν[ομων ?

Fr. 22.

459 ἀπει[

460 προς [*O* ?] . [

Fr. 23.

] . [.]ποτ[
]ου και [
]τουμ[
π]αρεχομ[ε
]ητε· κα[
] φασκο[ν
]ν[

Fr. 24.

. .]τιον[
. π]αραλ[
. .] πλειο[
.] δε των . [
] . αι πιστ[εις ?
π]αραστ[
.]ρας εδω[κ
τ]αχα ουν [
ε]καστων [
.]ν τις παρ[μα
ρ]τυρας ε . [
.]δοκω κα[
.]ν ειναι κ[
.]ιον οτι τ[
αν]αγκη τ . [
]ηρεν καλου[μεν
end of col.

Fr. 25.

]α[
]δωτωι [
]την συμβα[λ
] μη του κλη[ρου
] χρηματω[ν
] εις ταυτη[ν
]ην εκτισιν σωτ[
το]ν κληρον απ[
]αι την παιδισκ[ην
] ουν εφη βεβα[ι
]στη[.] δ ει τι φη[
]θ[α]ι εμοι δικα[
]τ[.] ακου[σ]ας ϊε . [
] και . . [.]υτ[
βο]υλευσ[
]ην τι τ[
]ατι[

Fr. 26.

[. . .] ουκ α[. . . . . .
[. . .] αλλ ει μεν απτ[. . .
[. . . . π]ολεμιους αυ[τ . .
[. .] . [.] . ουκ αν ειχεν [. .
[. .]ακοντος τοιουτωι δ[ε
[προ]πωι ηγησα[το] δ[ι
[κα]ιως αγαναι[κτειν
επι των παρ[ριων απο

Fr. 27.

ταλ
ται ν[
τος τ[
ζετ[αι
δειξ[
ρους . [
εν τη[
μ[

Fr. 28.

. [
π[
μ[
δι[
δυ[
β[
π . [
ρα[

στερουμενος [. . . . . ξα[
μοι δοκουσιν ο[ι τα υμε τι[
τερα πριαμεν[οι . . . . .

Frs. 29+30+28?.

. . . . .]. σ[. . .
. . . . .]ερois ε
. . . . .]αι αυτον πα
. . . . .]ον αποδει
. .]οι . | [. . α]υτον εναν[
τι|α τοις αλ[λοις] γ[ι]γνωσκον
τα μονον ⟨α?⟩ α[ν α]υτω δικαι
[ω]ς παρ υμων φ[ε]ροι το[.] . ν
[. . . .]ν πως γαρ | δυνα[τ]αι
end of col.

Fr. 31.

]ωνα[.
]υοσυν[.
]τρος του[
] και τοις φο
]αι αγανα
κτ π]ολλα ημαρ
τ]οι μηδεν
]ων φροντι
αμφι]σβητει τωι [
]ε . τ . [

Fr. 32.

[.]φητ[
[.]θεντα[
[.]ντ[.] . [
[ο]υκ εθελ[. .] . [
ειχετε ου γαρ δ[ι]κα[ιον?
μεν υμ[ι]ν ε[ι]σεν . [. . .
υπερ τ[ο]υτου [.]η[
[.] . [

Fr. 33.

] . ενος [
]του ουτος δε τ[
δ]ιαγομενος [
δια]λελυκε την [
]ν ο φασκων [
]αιος ειναι των [
]ν πρ[ο]ς [τ]ας ενιω[
] . . . [

Fr. 34.

] .
]τα
]αρ
]θαι
]ρα
]ν
]σα
]τα

Fr. 35.

[. .] . νεω[
στρατεια[
και ετε[
συνε . [
των . [τε
λευτ[
[.]ρω[

Fr. 36.

. [
φ[
φ[
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Fr. 1. . . . οὗτος . . . [ἐ]ξέφυ[γε]ν, τὸ[ν δὲ ἀ]δελφὸ̣ν αὐτ[ο]ῦ [Πολέμαρχον] ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὴν [οὐσία]ν̣ ἀφείλοντο. καὶ [ἕως μὲ]ν̣ ἐν Πειραιεῖ ᾤχε[το ἠξί]ου κατελθὼν ἀπ[οφέρ]εσθαι, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπε[ιδὴ

ἦκ?]ει οὐδὲ τὴν τιμὴν [ἀποδ]οὺς τοῖς ἐωνημένοις [τ]ὰ ἑαυτοῦ δύναται κ[ομίζεσ]θαι. Νικόστρατος γὰ[ρ δικ]άζεται μετὰ Ξενοκ[λέους το]ὺ πωλή[σαντος . . .

'Lysias . . . escaped by flight, but they killed his brother Polemarchus and took away his property. While he was away at the Piraeus, he claimed to get it back on his return; but now when he has come back, he is unable to recover what is his own, even by paying the price to the purchasers. For Nicostratus is prosecuting him with Xenocles, who offered for sale . . .'

Fr. 2. *. . . σ]υλλη[θ . . . . . οἱ σ]ὰν δὲ ἐ[βδ]ομήκο]ντα ταλάντων [ἀπέδω?]ντο, ἣν οὗτοι οὔτ' ἀφ[ανίσ]αι οὔτ' ἀποδόσθαι πολ[λῶν] ἡμερῶν ἐδύνα[ντο. ἐ]πε[ι]δ[ὴ] τ[οί]νυν μεθ' [ὑ]μῶν φ[εύ]γων Λυσίας [ᾧχ]ετο καὶ μετ[ὰ] τοῦ ὑμ[ετ]έρου πλήθους κατῆλθεν, κελευουσῶν τῶν συνθηκῶν τὰ μὲν πεπραμένα τοὺς ἐωνημένους ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ ἀ[π]ρατα τοὺς κατελθόντας [κ]ομίζεσθαι, οὗτος οὔτε γῆν [οὔ]τ' οἰκίαν κεκτημένος, [ἃ] καὶ αἱ συνθῆκαι τοῖς κα[τε]λθοῦσιν ἀπεδίδυσαν, [ἐὰ]ν δὲ ⟨μὴ?⟩ ἀποδῶ[σ]ι . . .*

'. . . and sold the property for 70 talents, which property they were unable either to realize or to sell within a long period. So when Lysias departed with you into exile and returned with your democracy, the treaty enjoining that buyers should keep their purchases, but the returned exiles should recover what was unsold, he, not having obtained either land or house, which even the treaty restored to the returned exiles, or if it did (not?) restore . . .'

Fr. 4. *μετὰ τα[ῦτα] τοί[νυ]ν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τ[ὸ ἥμ]ισυ τῆς τιμῆς ἠξί[ου π]αρὰ Λυσίου λαβεῖν, λέ[γων] τὰς ἑαυτοῦ συμφο[ρ]άς, ὥσπερ τούτου θησαυ[ρ]ὸν [ἐ]πὶ τῶν τριάκοντα [ε]ὑρηκότος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπολω[λε]κότος τὰ ὄντα. διαγα[να]κτοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ [χαλε]πῶς φέροντος πρὸς . . .*

'Afterwards then, gentlemen of the jury, he claimed to receive half the price from Lysias, recounting his own misfortunes, as if Lysias had discovered a treasure in the time of the Thirty and not lost his property. Lysias being indignant and unwilling to submit . . .'

Fr. 5. *δεινὸ]ν γ[ὰρ ἂν εἴη ὦ ἄνδρες δικ]αισταί, ⟨εἰ κ]ατήλθε⟨τε⟩ μ[ὲ]ν ὡς ἀδ[ικ]ούμενοι, τῶν δὲ ὄντων [ἀ]ποστερεῖσθε ὡς ἀδικοῦν[τε]ς. καίτο[ι] δικαίως ἂν [ὀργίζοι]σθε τοῖς ἐωνημέ[νοι]ς τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐν ταῖς τοι[αύ]ταις συμφοραῖς. πρῶ[το]ν μὲν γὰρ οἱ τριάκον[τα οὐδὲν ἄ]ν ἐπώλουν εἰ οἱ [ὠνησόμ]ενοι μὴ ἦσαν.*

'It would be monstrous, gentlemen of the jury, that you should come back from exile as the injured parties, and yet be deprived of your property as if you were the wrongdoers. You might, however, justly be angry with the purchasers of your property in times of such misfortunes; for in the first place the Thirty would not have been offering anything for sale unless there had been intending buyers.'

Fr. 6. i–iii. *ὑμῖν [δὲ περὶ?] τούτων ἐπιτρέπο[μεν ἀ]κούσαντας τὰ Λυσί[α καὶ 'Ι]ππoθέρση πεπρα-[γμέν]α ὁποτέραν βούλεσθε [κρίσιν?] ⟨ ?⟩ πράγματος ψηφί[σασθαι] περὶ τούτων ὁπό⟨τε⟩ρος βελ]τίων ὢν περὶ τὴν [ἡμετέρ]αν πόλιν τυγχά[νει. δέο]μαι δ' ὑμῶν ἀκοῦ[σαι, ἵνα κ]αὶ οὗτος ὑμῖν δό[ξας χρ]ηστὸς εἶναι προθυ[μῆται ἐ]πὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, καὶ ὁ ['Ιπποθέρ]σης ἀκούσας τὰ [προσήκ]οντ' αὐτῶι βελτί[ων τὸ λοι]πὸν ᾖ. ὅτ[ι] μὲν [οὖν? . . . .]α Λυσι[. . . . ὑ]μῖν [. . . . . .]επ[. πα]ντε[λῶς? δῆλο]ν. ἕω[ς] μ[ὲ]ν γὰρ ὑ[μεῖς ηἰδα]ιμονεῖτε πλου[σιώτατος ἦ]ν τῶν μέτοι[κων, ἐπειδ]ὴ δὲ συμφο[ρὰ ἐγένετο] ἐπέμενεν, [οὐδὲ γ]ὰρ ἐλάχιστον μέ[ρος τῶν ὑμε]τέρων δυστι[χιῶν . . . .]υσεν, ἀνόμως [ὑπὸ τῶν τριά]κοντα καὶ [ἀδελφοῦ καὶ] χρημάτων [πολλῶν ἀπεσ]τερημ[έ]νο[ς· ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύ]γων ᾤχετο, [ἐπικούρους] τριακοσί[ους ἔπεμψεν?] εἰς τὴν κώ[θοδον καὶ π]αρέσχετο [χρήματά τε δ]ραχμὰς [δισχιλίας καὶ ἀσπίδας διακοσίας . . . Θρασυδαῖον τὸν 'Ηλεῖ]ον ξ[ένο]ν ὄντα ἐπι[τῷ] ἔπει[σεν] αὐτὸν δύο τάλαντα π[αρ]ασχεῖν τ[έ]λη, καὶ ἀντὶ τ[ο]ύτων οὐδεμίαν χ[άρ]ιν οὐδὲ δωρεὰν παρ' ὑμ⟨ῶ⟩ν κεκόμισται. καὶ φεύγων μὲν τοιοῦτος ἦν, κατελθὼν δὲ οὐδένα πά[π]οτε 'Αθηναίων ἐλέπι[σε]ν, οὔτε περὶ τῶν αὑτοῦ ὑ[π]αμιμήσκων εὐεργ[ετ]ῶν οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἀλλ[ο]τρίων ὑπειδίζων ἁμαρ[τη]μάτων. νῦν δ' ἀνάγκη περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ὑπὸ τοιούτου γὰρ φεύγει τὴν*

δίκη]ν· ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν τετρα[κο]σίων φείγων ᾤχετο, ἐκ Δεκελείας δὲ ὁρμώμενος μ[ε]τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπ[ὶ τὴ]ν πατρίδα ἐστρά[τευσεν, οἱ δ]ὲ τῆς πόλεω[ς ἐχθροὶ κατήγα]γον αὐ[τὸν καὶ] π[ολί]την ὑμέτερον ἐποίησαν. ὥστ', οἶμαι, πᾶσι δῆλον εἶνα[ι] ὅτ[ι] μ[εῖο]ν νυνὶ φρονεῖ τῶν τ[ειχῶν ᾠκο]δομημένων [ἢ τῶν] τότε καθῃρημένων, οὐδ' ὁμ[ο]ίας ἐλπίδας ἔχει ἐπ[ὶ τα]ῖς ὑμετέραις εὐτυ[χίαις] καὶ συμφοραῖς, εἶτα τ[έλεος ?] ὢν π[ο]λίτης, οὐδεπώπ[οτε αὐτῷ μεταμελή]σα[ν] οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ἡλικι[αν] βελτί[ονι γεγενημέ]νος, στε[φαν]ῶσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς με[θ' ἁ ὑμᾶς εἰργα]σ[α]το . . . Λυσίαν δὲ χάριν παρὰ τοῦ [δήμου ἀπολαμ]βάν[ειν εἰ]ργ[ασίαν] τὴν μεγίστ[ην πεποιη]κότα. δέομα[ι οὖ]ν ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἀποψηφίσασθαι Λυσίου μεμνημένους καὶ τ[ο]ύτου κ[αὶ] τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εὖ[ρ]ημένων. εἰ δὲ μ[ή], τίς ἔσται τούτου ἀνθρώπων δυστυχέστερος, εἰ τὰ [μὲν] αὐτοὶ βίᾳ λήψονται, τ[ὰ] δ' ὑμεῖς δώσετε; ἢ τίς το[ύ]των εὐδαιμονέστ[ερος], εἰ μὴ μόνον τῶν [τότ]ε πραχθέντων συγ[γνώ]μην αὐτοῖς ἔξετε, [ἀλλὰ] καὶ νυνὶ περὶ ὧν [ἂν εἴ]ς ὑμᾶς εἰσίωσιν ὅ[σα] ἂν κελεύωσιν ψηφιεῖσθε;

πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην ὑπὲρ θεραπαίνης.

'. . . we leave it to you, after hearing the actions of Lysias and Hippotherses, to give whichever verdict on the matter you choose with regard to the question which of the two is the better citizen. And I beg you to listen, in order that both Lysias, having been judged by you to have done his duty, may be still more zealous in the future, and Hippotherses hearing the truth about himself may behave better. . . . For while you were prosperous Lysias was the richest of the metoeci; but when disaster came he stayed on; for he did not in the least fail to share in your misfortunes, being illegally deprived by the Thirty of both his brother and much money. When he left Athens in flight, he sent 300 mercenaries to help in the restoration and provided both 2,000 drachmae in money and 200 shields . . . (and going to) Thrasydaeus the Elean, who was his guest-friend, he persuaded him to provide two talents in taxes, though in return for this he has never obtained any recompense or favour from you. Such was his behaviour in exile, while since his return he has never given offence to a single Athenian either by recalling the benefits conferred by himself or by making reproaches for the sins of others. But now it is necessary to speak about him, since his accuser is a man of this character: in the time of the Four Hundred he took to flight, and making Decelea his head-quarters fought with the enemy against his country; and it was the foes of the city who restored him and made him your fellow-citizen. Hence it is, I think, plain to all that he is now less pleased with the walls which were built than with the walls which were then destroyed, and bases quite dissimilar hopes upon your good fortunes and your disasters, and then being a full citizen, and never having repented or improved through age, he slanders the democracy after what he has done against you . . . (it is just) that Lysias should receive the thanks of the people for having conferred the greatest benefit upon them. I entreat you therefore, gentlemen of the jury, to acquit Lysias, remembering both this and the other arguments which I have used. Otherwise who in the world will be more unfortunate than Lysias, if his opponents are to take part of his property by force and part of it is to be given to them by you, or who will be happier than they, if you intend not only to pardon them for their past misdeeds but also now, whatever proposals they may make to you, to vote for all their demands? Against Hippotherses on behalf of a maidservant.'

Fr. 6. iv v, 7. Φαίνεται δ[ι]ὰ τε[λ]ῶν . . . . . τοὺς Θεομνήστου πρὸς ?] ὑμᾶς σχεδὸν πάν[τ]ων . . . .]ναι. οὕτω γὰρ διέ[θηκε ?]ν ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἐπ[ι]τρόπους εἶναι κε[. . . ἀ]λλὰ κ[α]ὶ τὴν οὐσίαν [. . . . . ὅν]τι δ' ἑταίρῳ [Θεο]δ[ώ]ρῳ τριάκοσ[τ]α μνᾶς ἔδωκα, δίκην δέον ἐκτῖσα[ι Θ]εοζοτίδῃ πρὶν δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον, εἰ δὲ μή, ὑπερήμερον εἶναι. δοὺς δὲ ὥσπερ εἰκ[ὸς] ἄν[ε]υ μαρτύρων, ἀπιστ[ε]ῖ οὐ[μ]ενος ἀναγκάζομαι δικάζεσθαι. Θεόμνηστος δὲ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἦν μοι φίλος καὶ ἑταῖρος, νυνὶ δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν ταῦτά τε πράττει καὶ ἄλλο ὁτιοῦν ἂν εἰς ἐμὲ [ἐ]τόλμησεν. πρὶν δ[ὲ ταύτη]ν ἠμ[ί]ην τὴν δ[ιαφορ]ὴν γενέσθ[αι, οὔτε ἠ]ώχλη[τα οὔτε ἀπῄτησα τὸ ἀργ]ύριον, οὐδὲ . . . (l. 203) . . . τὴν ἀνάγκην [. . . . .]σεως οὐδ' αὐτὸς αν[. . . .]τει. ἀνάγκη δ' αἰ[τῷ], εἰ μὴ παρ' ἐμοῦ τ[ὸ ἀργύ]ριον ἔχει, δυοῖν θάτ[ερον.] ἢ παρ' ἑτέρου φά[σ]κ[ειν εἰ]ληφέναι ἢ αὐτ[ὸν τὸ πᾶν ?] ἐκτετικέναι τῷ Θεοζο[τ]ίδῃ. εἰ μ[ὲ]ν

το[ύννν] πα[ρ'] ἑτέρου φήσει [εἰληφέναι] καπ[. . . (l. 315) παρ' ἐμο[ῦ] ε[. . . . .]τεν τοῦ συνει[δό]τος . . .] τὴν ἀπορίαν ὀκν[εῖν] δεηθῆναι, π[αρὰ] δὲ τῶν μηνυσάντω[ν] τοῖς ἐχ[θ]ροῖς ἀξιοῦν δανείζ[ε]σθαι. κα[ί]τοι π[ῶς] εἰκὸς τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ ἑ[τέ]ρους συνεκδίδ[οσθαι, αὐ]τῷ δὲ παρ' ἑτέρων δ[ι]ειζεσέ[αι]; ὡς δ' οὐ . [. .]τος ἠξ[ίω σ ε]ν αὐτῷ μ . .] ὄντος παρ' ἑτέρου δαι[εί]ζεσθαι μέγα ἰμ[ῖ]ν τεκμήριον ἐρῶ. ὅ[τε] γὰρ [ἐ]χο[ρ]ήγει ἀν δρά[σει] [εἰς Δι]νύσια πα[. . . . . χι]λ[ί]ις δραχ[μὰς . . . . μι]σθὸν διέλι[σε . . . (l. 338) πρὸς μὲν οὖν τ[ὸ παρ' ἑ]τέρ[ο]υ φ[ά]σκειν εἰ[ληφέναι ταῦτα λέγω· ἂν [δὲ . . . . .] . ουτος ἀργυρ[ίου . . . . ἰ]μᾶς τὸν Θεόμνηστον ἐντ[εῦθεν χρὴ [ἐξετάζειν? πῶ]ς εἰκὸς ἐστιν η[. . . . .]ς ἀργυρίου πε[ρ]αδ[εῖν] ἑ[αυ]τὸν εἰς τὸν ἔσχα[τον] κίνδ[υ]νον ἐλθόντα κα[ὶ τ]αύτην [δ]ύναμιν ἐπι[δ]εῖξαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς; καὶ ⟨τίς⟩ οὕτ[ω] σφόδρα ἐπ[έ]τρεπε τῇ [τ]ύχῃ, εἰ [κ]αί τ[ι] ἐξαίφνης [ἔ]παθεν, ὥστε περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἅμα καὶ τὸν βίον ἀναγ[καισθ]ῆναι παθεῖν εἰς τοῦτ[ο πρ]ο[ήκο]ντα εἰ ἔδυ [ὁ] ἥλι[ος] ὑπερημέρου ὄντ[ος; κ]αὶ [τί]ς οὕτως ἀνόητος ὅστ[ι]ς [αὐ]τὸν παρασκευάζετ[αι ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχ[θ]ροῖς γενέσθαι; [ἢ τ]ίς οὕτως ἄφρων ὅστις . . .

'. . . As he was my associate, I gave Theomnestus 30 minae, when he was obliged to pay a penalty to Theozotides before sunset or else become liable for default. Having given him the money naturally without witnesses and being defrauded of it, I am compelled to go to law. Theomnestus previously was my friend and associate, but now at the persuasion of my enemies this is how he acts, and he would have dared to do anything else against me. Before this quarrel between us arose, I neither troubled him nor demanded back the money . . . (l. 295) He must, if he has not had the money from me, make one of two pleas, either that he has received it from some one else, or that he himself paid Theozotides in full. If on the one hand he is going to assert that he received it from some one else, . . . (l. 315) . . . he hesitated to ask from me who was aware of his straits (?), but thought fit to borrow from persons who were going to inform his enemies. Is it, however, probable that my money should be lent out (?) to others, and that he should borrow from others than myself? To show that he did not think fit . . . to borrow from some one else, I will produce an important piece of evidence. When he was providing a men's chorus at the Dionysiac festival, . . . (l. 338) With regard then to the assertion that he received the money from some one else, that is my answer. But if (he paid from) the money which he had by him, you must put these questions to Theomnestus. Is it likely that he would have overlooked the extreme danger which he incurred and put so much power into his enemies' hands? Who ever had such excessive trust in fortune, even if suddenly he became possessed, that he was obliged to endanger his body and life as well, having come to this pass if the sun set leaving him a defaulter? Who is so senseless as to place himself at the mercy of his enemies, or who is so foolish as to . . .'

3. συκ]οφαν[τ: cf. xii. 5 *ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τριάκοντα πονηροὶ μὲν καὶ συκοφάνται ὄντες εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν*, to which ll. 2–4 were probably similar.

5. *οὗτος* means Lysias, as apparently throughout the fragments of this speech; cf. ll. 43, 81, 144, 225. His opponents are spoken of as *οὗτοι* in ll. 32 and 229, while *τούτων* in l. 140 refers to both Lysias and Hippotherses. The letter following *ουτος* can be *γ*, *ι*, or *π*.

8. [*Πολεμαρχον* is rather long for the lacuna, but seems necessary; cf. the next n. and xii. 17 sqq.

9–10. *την* [*ουσια*]*ν αφειλοντο*: cf. ll. 29, 162, and Plut. *Vit. Lys.* 835 e *τῶν τριάκοντα παραλαβόντων τὴν πόλιν ἐξέπεσεν . . . ἀφαιρεθεὶς τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πολέμαρχον.* [*οικια*]*ν* could be read both here and in l. 29 (cf. l. 44), but is unsuitable; for Lysias with his brother owned three houses (xii. 18), and the price mentioned in l. 30, which must be not less than 30 and seems to be 70 talents, is too high for a single house; cf. xix. 29, where a house costs 50 minae, and xix. 42, where a house and land cost 5 talents. A list of Lysias' losses, given in xii. 19, includes 700 shields, 120 slaves, money, clothes, and furniture.

11. *εν Πειραιει*: according to xii. 17 Lysias went to Megara from Athens, and Plut. *op. cit.* 835f states *διῆγεν ἐν Μεγάροις*. The Piraeus is mentioned here as being the headquarters of the exiles after its capture by Thrasybulus. One of the houses of Lysias and his brother was there; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 327a.

11–12. *ηξι]ου*: cf. l. 78.

12–13. *απ[οφε|ρ]εσθαι*: or *αι[ακομι|ζ]εσθαι*; cf. *κ[ομιζεσ]θαι* in l. 16. *αγ.[* or *αι.[* could also be read, and the verb may be intransitive; but possibly *τα εαυτου*, which in l. 16 has a line above it, was added in the margin of ll. 12–13.

16–17. *κ[ομιζεσ]θαι*: cf. l. 43 and 12–13, n. The omission of *τα εαυτου* here is no improvement, unless the words had been inserted in the margin of ll. 12–13.

17–18. Neither Nicostratus nor Xenoc[les] is known from other sources.

20. *ασπι[δ*: Lysias had a shield-manufacturing business; cf. xii. 19 and Plut. *op. cit.* 835f, quoted in ll. 163–71, n.

29. *ουσ]ιαν*: cf. ll. 9–10, n. *ουσιαν . . . σ]υλ|λη[θεισαν αξ]ιαν* | *δε* is possible.

30. *εβδ[ομηκο]ντα*: the first letter might be *σ* or *ω*, and the traces of the second and third are very doubtful, but unless there was another word before the number, *εβδ[ομηκο]ντα* is preferable to e. g. *εξ [και τριακο]ντα*.

31. *[απεδο]ντο* is far from certain, especially since *ε* or *ω* can be read in place of *ν*, so that the subject might be singular. If *[απεδο]ντο* is right, the subject seems to be the Thirty Tyrants as contrasted with *ουτοι* in l. 32, which refers to Hippotherses and his associates.

32. *αφ[ανισ]αι*: i. e. *ἐξαργυρίσαι*: cf. the contrast between *ἀφανής* and *φανερὰ οὐσία* in the fragment of this speech quoted on p. 48.

35–6. Cf. l. 163.

38–44. For *οὗτος* meaning Lysias cf. l. 5, n. The context does not suit the reference of *οὗτος* to Hippotherses, though there may be only a short gap between ll. 48 and 76; cf. int. p. 49.

47. This line seems to be corrupt, though *α[.]* (but not *α[ντ]* or any other letter than *α[*) can be read in place of *δ[ε]*. A dittography of *αν δε* is the simplest hypothesis, but there may well be an omission of *μη* before *αποδω[σ]ι*, and possibly *[ω]ν δε αν ⟨μη⟩ αποδω[σ]ι* should be read.

48. The letter before *ρα* can be *ς*, but *φαν]ερα* is possible; cf. int. p. 48.

83. *[ε]υρηκοτος* suits the space better than *[η]υρηκοτος*: in l. 153 the spelling of *ηυδα]μονειτε* is uncertain.

86. *[χαλε]πως φεροντος*: cf. xix. 50.

89. *]υλου*: *ο]υ του* is less suitable, and *Ιερων]υμου* (cf. Lys. Fr. 123 quoted on p. 48) is inadmissible.

92–3. *Σωσια[δην?*: *Σωσια* (genitive) or *Σωσια|νακτα* is possible; but cf. Fr. 64, where *αναισχυν[τος Σωσ]ιαδης* can be restored in ll. 736–7. *παραλαβων [τον αναισχυν]τον Σωσια[δην* could even be read here. Fr. 75, where *Σω]σιαδη[* is not unlikely in l. 781, may also refer to this person.

93–4. *δα]μειστην* should perhaps be restored in l. 93, but *]ν εις την η[μεραν την] συγκειμε|[νην* is possible.

102. This line is in the same position in the column as l. 92.

113–18. Cf. xxxiv. 11 *δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, ὦ ⟨ἄνδρες⟩ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ὅτε μὲν ἐφεύγομεν ἐμαχόμεθα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἵνα κατέλθωμεν, κατελθόντες δὲ φευξόμεθα ἵνα μὴ μαχώμεθα.*

119. *[οργιζοι]σθε*: cf. xii. 30, 80, 90. With *τοις εωνημε[νοι]ς τα υμετερα* cf. ll. 510–11.

124–5. Perhaps *ε|[πειτα.*

127–8. *τας συ]νθη[κας τε και το]υς νομους* could be read, but is contrary to Lysias' use of *τε*. *ταις* (or *των*) *συ]νθη[καις* (or *-κων*) *κατα το]υς νομους* is more likely.

129. *ακη]κοατε*: i. e. in ll. 38 sqq. probably.

129–35. Either η| in l. 129 or . .]ας in l. 130 is likely to belong to *ημας*, which is expected about this point, being perhaps contrasted with τ]ου[ς] *αντιδι[κους* in ll. 133–4. If there was a pause after *αντιδι[κους*, the next sentence may have begun *ημ]εις [τοιννυν] υμιν*. In view of the stop, however, at the end of l. 132, τ]ου[ς] *αντιδι[κους* may be connected with what follows, and mean both parties to the suit, not Lysias' adversaries. *υμιν* in l. 134 clearly goes with *επιτρεπι[μεν*: cf. Plato, *Apol.* 35 d *ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέπω . . . κρῖναι*. There is room for [*δε περι*] before *τουτων* in l. 135, but *περι τουτων* occurs shortly after in l. 140.

139. [*κρισιν*]: cf. xxv. 10 *οὕτως γὰρ ἂν δικαιοτάτην ⟨τὴν⟩ κρίσιν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιοῖσθε*. For [*γνωμην*] there is not room. *περι του* would be expected before *πραγματος*, but since *περι τουτων* occurs in the next line, the sentence would be improved by the omission of *πραγματος*.

141. There seems to have been an omission of *τε* at the beginning of this line, as in l. 115.

144–5. Cf. xxv. 17 *ὅστις γὰρ τότε οὐδὲν ἐξήμαρτον . . ., ἢ που νῦν σφόδρα προθυμήσομαι χρηστὸς εἶναι*. *δο[ξας* or *δο[κων* seems to be inevitable, for the letter before *ο* is more like *δ* than *λ*, which is the only alternative.

148. [*προσηκ*]*ουτ*: or [*συμφερ*]*ουτ*.

149. It is not certain that the space (the width of a letter) between *ηι* and *οτ*[*ι*] was blank, the surface of the papyrus being damaged. Whether *μεν* had a *δε* answering to it is not clear, and perhaps *μεν*[*τοι* should be read.

150. *υ*]*μιν*: or *η*]*μιν*.

155–6. Cf. xii. 43 *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο*.

157–9. Cf. xii. 20 *οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας ἐλέου . . . ἐτυγχάνομεν*, xii. 22 *μετῆν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ τούτου τἀγαθοῦ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος*, and especially xviii. 2 *τῶν μὲν κακῶν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον αὐτὸς μετέσχε μέρος*. The *υ* of]*υσεν* in l. 159 is fairly certain. A verb meaning 'avoided' is expected, but *εφ*]*υγεν* cannot be read.

160–2. Cf. ll. 8–10, nn.

163–71. Cf. Plut. *op. cit.* 835 f *ἐπιθεμένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τῇ καθόδῳ, ἐπεὶ χρησιμώτατος ἁπάντων ὤφθη, χρήματά τε παρασχὼν δραχμὰς δισχιλίας καὶ ἀσπίδας διακοσίας πεμφθείς τε σὺν Ἑρμᾶνι ἐπικούρους ἐμισθώσατο τριακοσίους, δύο τ' ἔπεισε τάλαντα δοῦναι Θρασυδαῖον τὸν Ἠλεῖον, ξένον αὐτῷ* (better *αὑτῷ*) *γεγονότα*, which is clearly based upon the present passage, not, as Blass (*op. cit.* p. 339) supposed, upon the speech *περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εὐεργεσιῶν* (cf. ll. 177–9 n.). A shorter verb than *εμισθωσατο* seems to have occurred in l. 165, though cf. xii. 59 *ἐπικούρους μισθοῦσθαι*. With the spelling *τ*[*ε*]*λητι* in ll. 170–1 cf. *αναγκητι* as the nominative in ll. 181–2.

173. *παρ υμιν*: the traces of *ι* are very slight, but there is not room for *υμων*, which is what Lysias probably wrote (cf. ll. 216–19, n.), though later writers, e. g. Dio Cass. Exc. p. 66. 34, often use the dative with *παρά* in place of the genitive.

177–9. The speech *πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην* was probably delivered before that *περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εὐεργεσιῶν*, of which the contents and date are unknown.

178. *α*[*ν*]*αμνημισκων*: for *μνημίσκειν*, which appears as a form of *μιμνήσκειν* in the Roman period, but is not likely to have been used by Lysias himself, cf. Porphyr. *Vit. Plotini* 13 *ἐν δέ τισι λέξεσιν ἁμαρτάνων, οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶπεν ἀναμιμνήσκεται ἀλλὰ ἀναμνημίσκεται*, and P. Hamburg 37. 4 (2nd cent.) *μνημίσκεσθαι*, quoted by W. Schmid in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1914. 1568.

184. *επι μεν των τετρα*[*κο*]*σιων*: i. e. at the fall of the Four Hundred, when several of the leaders escaped to Decelea; cf. Thuc. viii. 98.

191–4. That two originally separate fragments, one attributed to the middles of ll. 192–3, the other (Fr. 80) to the ends of ll. 191–4, are correctly placed admits of little doubt.

194–7. The general sense is that Hippotherses took more pride in the destruction than in the building of the walls; cf. xii. 63 *καίτοι σφόδρ' ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέους πολιτευόμενον προσποιεῖσθαι πράττειν ὅπως οἰκοδομηθήσεται τὰ τείχη, ὁπότε καὶ μετὰ Θηραμένους ὅπως*

καθαιρεθήσεται, and xiv. 39 ἢ τῶν τειχῶν καθῃρημένων ἀγανακτεῖ. The first letter of μ[ειο]ν is, however, very uncertain, γ, η, ι, κ, ν, π, or τ being equally possible. οτ[ι ο]μ[οιο]ν could be read instead of οτ[ι] μ[ειο]ν, with και instead of η in l. 196 (which as it stands is rather short); but this does not combine well with ουδ ομ[ο]ιας ελπιδας in l. 198. των τειχων κτλ. seems to be a genitive absolute.

201. ων: The first letter can be η, ι, or ω, but hardly ν.

203. μεταμελη[σα]ν: cf. the use of the present participle absolutely in Isocr. 382 c and Plato, *Phaedo* 114 a.

207. ειργα[σ]α[το: ειργα[σ]τ[αι is inadmissible. The next word may have been κακα.

212–13. Perhaps πεν[τηκοντα ταλαν]των.

216–19. Though the remains are scanty, the general sense is fairly clear; but in l. 217 βαν[would be expected to end the line, and there is certainly not room for both ειν and ευ after it. Λυσ]ιαν cannot be read. For χαριν] παρα του [δημου απολαμ]βαν[ειν cf. l. 172 and xx. 30 χάριν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπολαμβάνειν.

230. The cancelling of περι is supported by x. 2 συγγνώμην ἂν εἶχον αὐτῷ τῶν εἰρημένων: but cf. ix. 22 ὑπὲρ τῶν περιφανῶν ἀδικημάτων συγγνώμην ποιεῖσθε, and xix. 56 περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς . . . συγγνώμην ἔχετε.

239–46. [δι]α το[υ] λο[γου του]του is unsatisfactory, for the slight traces after το[υ] do not suit λο, and if the letter preceding]του were ν, the tail of it would rather be expected to be visible. [δι]α το[υ]του [του λο]γου is also unsuitable, and since this speech is for the prosecution it is not likely to have begun with a reference to a speech by the defendant. [δι]α το[υ] αγ[ω]νος του]του is possible, but we have not been able to restore the whole passage satisfactorily. [ειρηκε]ναι could be read in l. 242, but like λο]γου is not appropriate, and δι[εθηκε]ν in ll. 242–3 is rather short. With επ]ιτροπους and ουσιαν in ll. 244–5 cf. ll. 267–8. The vestige of a letter at the end of l. 244 suggests ε, ι, or υ. κε[λευει α]λλα is too long.

249. Θ]εοδοτιδη: cf. l. 300. He is not likely to be the same person as the Θεοζοτίδης against whom lix was directed, for the fragments of that speech in P. Hibeh 14 are concerned with a γραφὴ παρανόμων on account of Th.'s proposals to alter the pay of soldiers and arrangements for benefiting orphans. Nor is he to be identified with the Θεοζοτίδης χορηγὸς τραγῳδῶν mentioned by Dem. xxi. 59. With regard to the spelling, Θεοζοτίδης is the only form recognized in the *Prosopogr. Att.*; but Θεοσδοτίδης or Θεοδοτίδης is commonly found in Byzantine MSS.

260. . . .]ν: or επε]ι.

267–8. Cf. ll. 244–5.

269. The letter preceding το may be ι or ω.

270.]αι can be read in place of]ν.

271. Perhaps το]τε, unless ο]τε was written twice by mistake. γε is the only alternative to τε.

272. ανευ μ]αρτυρων: cf. l. 252.

275. ποιο?]υμενος: η, ι, or ω can be read instead of ν.

276. Cf. xii. 35 ἢ που σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡγήσονται περιέργους ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τηρουμένους.

293–4. Probably απαιτη]σεως or αποδο]σεως.

294–5. αν[τιλε]γει cannot be read without altering the text, though it is the word expected.

297. δυοιν θατ[ερον: cf. vi. 8, xii. 34.

302–3. Possibly [ειληφε]ναι ου]κ απ[.

312. The letter before τοκον might be ω, but is apparently not ν.

317–18. ο]κι[ειν] δεηθηναι: cf. l. 335, where these words seem to recur. But the ο is lower in the line than would be expected and there might be one or two letters lost after it. The letter following κ, if not ν, is μ.

320. The ἐχθροί are those of Theomnestus (cf. l. 349), not those of the plaintiff (l. 258).

322. The ν of μεν is corrected from μ.

325–6. Possibly ουκ [αν]τος: ουχ [ου]τος is not a satisfactory reading. The last three letters of αυτωι are very doubtful, but the following μ is nearly certain, so that π[αρ]οντος and ε[ξ]οντος are excluded.

330–2. Cf. xxi. 2 ἔτι δ' ἀνδράσι χορηγῶν εἰς Διονύσια . . . ἐνίκησα καὶ ἀνήλωσα σὺν τῇ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀναθέσει πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς. αλ]λας δραχ[μας could be read.

333 a–41. That Frs. 45 and 73 join together and are to be placed near the beginnings of these lines was ascertained after they had been printed in the miscellaneous section.

335. Cf. ll. 317–18, n. δε ε[could be read. If δεη[θηναι is right, the next word may be το]|τε.

337. Cf. ll. 246 and 256–7.

338–40. Cf. ll. 298–300.

344–5. The word or words before αργυριου may well have ended ον[το]ς, corresponding to ll. 340–1. υ[παρχον|το]ς is inadmissible.

348. επι[δ]ειξαι: or επι[.]ηξαι, which suggests no suitable word, though επι[δ]ηξαι may have been written for επι[δ]ειξαι, as perhaps in l. 738. [δ]υναμιν is also difficult, but the ν of [δ]υν is almost certain.

349. That τις has been omitted before ουτ[ω] is clear from ll. 356–7. For ουτ[ω] σφοδρα cf. ll. 418–19.

350. Cf. ii. 79 οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαντες περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ τύχῃ.

351–6. As the text stands, there is no construction for the infinitive αναγ[κασθ]ηναι in l. 353 and no verb for ωστε in l. 355. The simplest course is to transpose ωστε to l. 352 after [ε]παθεν, but the corruption may go deeper; e. g. ωστε ει εδυ [ο] ηλι[ος] υπερημερου ουτ[ος may be transferred to l. 352, or ωστε may be inserted there and a verb added for the second ωστε. For εις τουτ[ο πρ]ο[ηκο]ντα cf. Dem. xxviii. 5.

362–3. Perhaps υ|[μων or ⟨ο⟩υ|[τως.

367. Fr. 13 is perhaps to be placed immediately above Fr. 8, so that the stroke visible under the μ of]ομαι in l. 437 represents the stroke lost above [ες in l. 367.

370–2. These lines apparently began more to the left than ll. 368–9.

377–80. Cf. xxxi. 14 ὡς οὖν ᾤκει τε ἐν Ὠρωπῷ . . . ἀκούσατε τῶν μαρτύρων. μάρτυρες. Here the mention of μάρτυρες comes first.

387. την] ναυν: cf. l. 369.

389. προς]. υλιον: or possibly]. υλην or]. . αιον or]. . . νον. πρὸς Ἁρμόδιον, π. Ἀρχῖνον, and π. Χυτρῖνον are titles of lost speeches of Lysias; but Αρ]μοδιον cannot be read, and the speech π. Ἀρχῖνον was concerned with Lysias' citizenship, which is clearly foreign to the subject of Frs. 8–9. Of the speech π. Χυτρῖνον only one fragment is extant, which is concerned with an assault, and the vestiges do not suit Χυ]τρινον. Fr. 20 possibly belongs to this line; but cf. int. pp. 48–9.

397. Possibly Αι[σιας in some form; but cf. int. p. 48.

410. There was perhaps a blank space after αλλα, indicating the end of a line.

416. It is not certain whether a letter has been obliterated after ουτα, or there was a blank space before the vestige of the next letter, which might be α, i. e. αδικα ι[or α δικαι[. ω δικασ[ται could be read, but Lysias regularly uses ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί.

418–20. Cf. ll. 349 sqq. It is, however, unlikely that Fr. 11 belongs to the speech against Theomnestus.

436–8. Cf. l. 367, n.

440–1. εφα]|σκε: Fr. 16, in which l. 449 ends]εφα, may well belong to the ends of l. 440 and the two preceding lines.

447–9. Cf. the previous n.

456. Possibly, but not very probably, *κατα Θεομνησ]του*: cf. int. p. 48. The two extant orations *κ. Θεομν.* are distinguished as *α'* and *β'*. There is a blank space above and below *]του*.

457. Cf. l. 389, n. There is a blank space above *προς* [, but the lower margin is broken away.

458. The blank spaces above and below this line indicate a title. *Ὑπὲρ Φανίου παρανόμων* was the title of a speech of Lysias according to Athenaeus xii. 551 d, who quotes a long extract from an invective against Cinesias, a writer of dithyrambs and comedies, this being one of the two speeches *πρὸς Κινησίαν* mentioned by Harpocration. The speech *κατὰ Θεοζοτίδου* was also concerned with *παρανόμων* (cf. l. 249, n.), and Blass (*op. cit.* p. 350) assigns five other speeches to the same category. But none of the other miscellaneous fragments of **1606** suggests any of these speeches as its source.

459–60. Possibly a letter is lost before *απει*[. There is a space below l. 460, but none between ll. 459–60, such as is found elsewhere between the last line of a speech and the title; possibly therefore *προσ*[.] . [is a heading like *μάρτυρες*, and not a title. The vestige of a letter would suit *γ*, *η*, *ι*, *κ*, *μ*, *ν*, *π*, *τ*, or *υ*, and the lacuna between it and *προς*, if not blank, is likely to have contained *ο*, since any other letter ought to have left visible traces. No speech of Lysias *πρὸς ο*[. . . is known, and there is no reason to connect this fragment with the title of civ *περὶ τῆς Ὀνομακλέους θυγατρός*.

468–83. It is not at all certain that Fr. 24 comes from a point near the beginnings of lines; cf. l. 483, n.

472–4. Cf. xii. 77 *πολλὰς πίστεις αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ δεδωκώς*, and l. 716, where *πισ*[*τις* perhaps recurs.

481. Apparently not *δη*[*λονοτι*.

483. *]ηρεν καλου*[: or *]ηρ ενκαλου*[*μεν*: in which case *]ηρ* is probably not the beginning of a line.

490. *σωτ*[: *Σωσ*[*ιαδηι* (cf. ll. 92–3, n.) is inadmissible.

493. *βεβα*[*ι*: cf. l. 602 *β*]*εβαιοι* and Lys. Fr. 310 (from Harpocration) *βεβαιώσεως δίκης ὄνομά ἐστιν ἣν δικάζονται οἱ ὠνησάμενοί τι τῷ ἀποδυμένῳ, ἂν ἕτερος μὲν ἀμφισβητῇ τοῦ πραθέντος, ὁ δὲ μὴ βεβαιοῖ. ἐνίοτε καὶ ἀρραβῶνος μόνου δοθέντος εἶτα ἀμφισβητήσαντός του ἐλάγχανε τὴν τῆς βεβαιώσεως δίκην ὁ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα δοὺς τῷ λαβόντι. Λυσίας ἐν δυσὶ λόγοις. αμφ*]*ισβητ*[occurs in l. 604 and *αμφι*]*σβητει* in l. 547, so that all three Frs. 25, 31, and 39 may have come from one of the two speeches to which Harpocration was referring. In any case they probably belong to an oration different from those against Hippotherses and Theomnestus; cf. int. The colour of Frs. 31 and 39 suggests that they are to be placed near each other.

496. *ϊε* . [: *Ιερ*[*ωνυμος* (cf. Lysias Fr. 123 and p. 48) might be restored, but cf. the previous n.

506–11. Cf. ll. 118–20 *καιτο*[*ι*] *δικαιως αν* [*οργιζοι*]*σθε τοις εωνημε*[*νοι*]*ς τα υμετερα* and xxxi. 33 *μόνος δὴ . . . δικαίως οὐδ' ἂν ἀγανακτοίη μὴ τυχών*. Fr. 26 may well belong to the speech *πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην*, but the proposed restoration of ll. 506–7 makes those lines shorter than usual by one or two letters, and *επι των πατ*[*ριων* seems to be a mistake for *επι τοις πατ*[*ριοις*: cf. i. 1 *ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀγανακτοίη*.

520–9. Fr. 28 probably joins Fr. 29; cf. the next n.

530–5. That Frs. 29 and 30, both from the bottoms of columns, join, as indicated in the text, admits of hardly any doubt; the position assigned to Fr. 28. 524–9 at the beginnings of these lines is attractive, but not certain. A new sentence begins in l. 533 with *αποδει*[, and *αποδει*[*ξω* [*τ*]*οιν*[*υν α*]*υτον* would be expected; but the traces of the letter following *ξ* suggest no other vowel than *α*, and *αποδειξα*[*ι* or *αποδειξα*[*ς* is difficult to construct. The *ο* of *οι* . in l. 534 is nearly certain, but the next letter might be *υ* and the third is quite doubtful.

536. The left-hand part of the *τ* of *τα* is missing, and there is no external evidence for *τ* being the first letter of the line. There is certainly not room for *α* ⟦*αν α*⟧*υτω*.

537–8. *φεροιτο* [*τ*]*ην* | [*χαρι*]*ν* is possible. Frs. 28–30 might belong to the speech *πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην*: cf. ll. 171–3.

539–48. Cf. l. 493, n. It is tempting to place Fr. 53 to the left of Fr. 31, so that the tip of the *σ* of]*μφεσ*[in l. 696 would belong to the bottom of the *σ* of]*σβητει* in l. 547. The fibres suit well enough, though the two fragments would still not actually join each other. Lines 544–7 would then run [. . . .]*αι* . [. . *π*]*ολλα ημαρ*|[*τ* . . . .]*λει* (or]*α ει*) *τις σοι* (or *τισι οι*) *μηδεν* | [. . . . *κ*]*αθηκων φροντι*|[. . . . *η*]*μφεσβητει τωι*, which remains obscure.

554. The letter following *ε*[*ι*]*σεν* seems to begin with a vertical stroke and not to be *ε*.

559. *δ*]*ιαγομενος*: the middle of this verb is used by Plato, but not elsewhere by Lysias.]*ναγομενος* can be read.

601–6. Cf. l. 493, n.

641–7. It is not certain that Fr. 44 belongs to **1606**.

648–53. Cf. ll. 333 a–41, n.

693–7. Cf. ll. 539–48, n.

716. Cf. ll. 472–4, n.

725. *πλο*]*υσιωτα*[*τ*: cf. ll. 153–4.

735.]*ιδηξαι*: the *η* is clear, but *επ*]*ιδειξαι* may be meant; cf. l. 348, n.

736–7. For *αναισχυν*[*τος Σωσ*]*ιαδης* cf. ll. 92–3, n. But Lysias made speeches *πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην* and *πρὸς Ἀρχεβιάδην*, and either of these two names can equally well be supplied.

773–6. Cf. ll. 333 a–41, n.

781. For *Σω*]*σιαδη*[cf. ll. 92–3, n.

785. Perhaps *Θεο*[*μνηστος* or *Θεο*[*ζοτιδης* (cf. l. 249, n.).

801–4. Cf. ll. 191–4, n.

809–12. Whether this fragment belongs to **1606** is doubtful. There is no other instance of a coronis in the papyrus.

829.]*αι ο Λι*[*σιας* can be read, in which case Fr. 87 would belong to the speech *πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην*.

858–9. Fr. 128 is probably to be placed to the left of Fr. 97 with a slight gap between them, in which case the combined reading is]*καν ποτε επε*[and *ω α*]*νδρες δικα*[*σται*.

865. Possibly]*αι ο Λ*[*υσιας*; cf. l. 829, n.

869. Possibly] *Λυσ*[*ιας*; cf. l. 829, n.

934–5. Cf. ll. 858–9, n.

1607. HYPERIDES (?), *For Lycophron*.

Height 27·5 cm. Late second or early third century.
Plate III (Frs. 5 + 4).

These fragments of a lost oration, found with **1606**, were originally more than 60 in number, but have been reduced by a quarter through combinations. At least ten columns are represented, the longest fragment (1) containing parts of three with some continuous passages; but of the other pieces only Fr. 5 is of much value, and not more than about 100 lines in all can be restored. The order of the fragments is uncertain; but the similarity in colour and texture of Frs. 2–12 suggests that they are to be placed near each other, and suitable positions have

been found for Frs. 3 and 4 in combination with Frs. 2. ii and 5 respectively. That Fr. 14 belongs to Fr. 2. ii is far from certain (cf. ll. 159–62, n.), for Frs. 13–20 form another group, differing from the rest in colour. The handwriting is an upright, rather irregular uncial of the late second or early third century, the letters being as a rule somewhat widely separated. The script sometimes, e. g. in Frs. 13–20, tends to become more compact; but there seems to be no change of hand. There were 39–40 lines in a column, and 11–18 letters, usually 13–15, in a line. The common >-shaped sign is used for filling up short lines, being duplicated in l. 87. Iota adscript was written. High stops were employed, these sometimes approximating to the middle position, but probably without any intentional distinction. All these, together with occasional diaereses over ι and υ, a mark of elision in l. 230, and an accent in l. 455, are due to the original scribe, as are certainly most of the corrections; but the alterations in ll. 15, 71, 93, and 424 were possibly made by a different person.

The oration was evidently in defence of a certain Lycophron, who is mentioned several times by name (ll. 28, 106, 160?, and 287), but elsewhere is usually called οὗτος. He was accused of adultery with a woman whose husband was ill (ll. 180–8), the main subject of Fr. 1 being a denial of the charge that Lycophron had dug a hole in the wall which divided his house from hers. It is also evident that this person is identical with the Lycophron defended by Hyperides in an oration of which a few fragments from the beginning and the whole of the concluding portion are extant in P. Brit. Mus. 115. That speech was similarly concerned with an accusation against Lycophron of adultery with an unnamed woman whose husband was in a dying condition; her brother Dioxippus, a distinguished athlete (Hyperid. *Lycophr.* § 5), is obviously identical with the Dioxippus of **1607**. 285, and the Theomnestus alluded to in **1607**. 219 as one of the chief witnesses for the prosecution is no doubt the same as the accuser Theomnestus who is bitterly attacked in *Lycophr.* § 2, while there is probably a reference in **1607**. 283 to Charippus, the second husband of the woman in question (*Lycophr.* § 3). Since the British Museum oration was composed for delivery by the defendant himself, who speaks in the first person, **1607**, in which Lycophron is mentioned in the third person, cannot belong to the missing part of it, though it must have covered the same ground. The Oxyrhynchus fragments therefore belong to another speech delivered in connexion with this *cause célèbre* of about 340 B. C.

From the British Museum papyrus it is known that the proceedings against Lycophron took the form of an εἰσαγγελία, which in the first instance was brought before the δῆμος by the famous orator Lycurgus in the absence of Lycophron from Athens on military service at Lemnos. In the fifth and the earlier half of

the fourth century B.C. εἰσαγγελίαι brought before the δῆμος, either directly or through the agency of the βουλή, were usually tried by the whole δῆμος, as e.g. in 388 in the case of Ergocles, against whom a speech of Lysias is extant; but after 361 the normal practice, as illustrated chiefly by the orations of Hyperides for Lycophron and Euxenippus and that of Lycurgus against Leocrates, seems to have been to refer such cases to a court of dicasts; cf. Lipsius, *Attisches Recht*, i. 176 sqq. Lycurgus is known from quotations to have composed two speeches against Lycophron, and it is generally supposed that one of these was delivered by himself before the whole δῆμος, while the other was written for delivery before the dicasts by the chief plaintiff, a certain Ariston, this being the speech to which Hyperides' oration for Lycophron was the reply (Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit*, iii. 59). The line of argument adopted in **1607** renders it impossible to regard the speech as the work of Lycurgus, and there is some *a priori* probability that the author of it was Hyperides. This orator was rather widely read in Egypt, for six of his speeches are preserved more or less completely in four papyri from that country (**682**, a fragment of a lost oration, may also belong to him), whereas, of his contemporaries other than Lycurgus, Demades and Dinarchus are not represented in papyri, and neither Aeschines, who according to Pseudo-Plutarch 840 e wrote only four speeches, nor Demosthenes, whose orations are nearly all extant, is suitable as the author of **1607**. Like Lycurgus, Hyperides may well have taken part in the proceedings before the δῆμος concerning Lycophron in addition to the subsequent trial before the dicasts; but the employment of the phrase ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί in **1607**. 221–2, not ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι as in Lysias' speech against Ergocles, is irreconcilable with the hypothesis that the δῆμος as a whole was being addressed. Lycurgus in his oration against Leocrates uses ὦ ἄνδρες, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι and ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί indiscriminately, but in a speech delivered before dicasts, and if Hyperides was the author of **1607** he must have written two orations for delivery at the same trial, one (the British Museum papyrus) spoken by Lycophron, the other (**1607**) spoken either by the author himself or by a third person. The British Museum oration concludes with an appeal from Lycophron to a certain Theophilus to speak on his behalf, and it is to this speech, also composed by Hyperides, rather than to a speech delivered by Hyperides in the first person, that we are disposed to attribute **1607**. This hypothesis is distinctly supported by internal evidence. Hyperides was censured by several ancient critics, particularly Hermogenes, for carelessness in his choice of λέξεις (cf. Blass, *op. cit.* iii. 25 sqq.), and **1607** has several not strictly Attic expressions, which seem to be taken from common life. Thus ἀπείπασθαι with an accusative (l. 28) and παρασιωπᾶν (l. 69) are not attested before Polybius, nor is ἐγενήθη (l. 63, n.) with certainty before Philemon. σῶμα in ll. 32 and 76 is used in a manner approximating to its third

century B.C. use as 'slave', and it is possible that διαλέγεσθαι in l. 97 is used *de concubitu*, which would be exactly parallel to the rare use of διαλέγεσθαι in the sense of πλησιάζειν ταῖς γυναιξί ascribed to Hyperides by Moeris, p. 195 (= Blass, Fr. 171). That quotation, together with two similar references in Pollux to Hyperides' use of διειλεγμένος, is assigned by Blass to the oration περὶ Φρύνης, but the Moeris quotation might even refer to the present passage. There are also several other agreements with Hyperides in points of diction; cf. ll. 26, 71–3, 82, 86–8, 108, 111, 128, 220–3, nn.

Against the attribution of **1607** to Hyperides it may be urged that the British Museum papyrus has the title at the end (ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος) without the addition α′ or β′, and proceeds to the speech for Euxenippus, and the ancient references to the speech for Lycophron (four in Pollux, one in Antiatticista in Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 97) do not mention more than one. But the British Museum papyrus contains only three selected orations, and since the quotations in Pollux and Antiatticista from the speech for Lycophron do not occur in it, they might even refer to **1607**, not to that speech. If there were two speeches for Lycophron, sometimes distinguished as α′ and β′, the ignoring of that distinction by Pollux and Antiatticista would be no more remarkable than the failure of Harpocration in seven out of nine cases and of Suidas twice to state which of the two speeches of Lycurgus they meant by κατὰ Λυκόφρονος. Moreover the title of **1607** may have been something different from ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος β′. According to Pseudo-Plutarch 849 d Hyperides composed 77 speeches, of which 52 were genuine. The titles of nearly 70 are known, and none of these is at all suitable for identification with **1607**, except possibly a speech which is vaguely described by Pollux as συνηγορικός. But the scholiast on Aeschines, *De falsa leg.* § 18, gives the number of Hyperides' orations as 170, and though the figures assigned by this scholiast to the speeches of the orators are in general less trustworthy than those of Pseudo-Plutarch, and in some cases (e. g. in regard to Lysias and Isaeus) certainly corrupt, the figure 77 for Hyperides may well be too small, while, even if correct, it leaves a small balance of unknown speeches, of which **1607** may have been one. That Athenian advocates sometimes composed two orations for delivery by different speakers at the same trial is known from the two extant orations of Lysias against Alcibiades, of which the second is not a reply by the speaker of the first, and is not parallel to the second speech of Demosthenes against Aphobus; cf. Blass, *op. cit.* i. 492. Though open to some difficulties, the view that **1607** passed in Egypt as the composition of Hyperides offers the most satisfactory explanation. Whether it was actually genuine is more doubtful, in view of Pseudo-Plutarch's rejection of one-third of the speeches assigned to Hyperides. While the first oration of Demosthenes against Stephanus is

generally regarded as authentic, the second is not; cf. Blass, *op. cit.* iii. 409 sqq., 472–5. But against the hypothesis that **1607** is a later composition ascribed to Hyperides must be set the apparent mention in ll. 218–20 of two individuals, Anaschetus and Criton, who are known from an inscription of 340 B. C., the approximate date of the British Museum speech.

We are indebted to Mr. Lobel and Dr. Hude for several good suggestions in the restoration of this papyrus.

Fr. 1. Col. i.

13 lines lost

[τουτο]ν δι[ο]ρυξαι τον
[τοιχο]ν τη[ς] προς τ[[ο]]η ν
[ανθρ]ωπον ομειλιας
[ενε]κεν ουδαμως
[πιθ]ανον εστιν· ουτε
γα[ρ] ως ⟨προς⟩ τους προτερον
αυτωι λειτουργουν
τας και παν ο τι κελευ
[οι] προθυμως ὑπομε
νοντας διηνεχθη
δεδηλωκεν· ουθ ο
τι γενομενης προς
αυτον αψιμαχιας
εκεινοι την χρειαν
[α]πειπαντο οθεν ο Λυ
κοφρων επι το τον
τοιχον διορυξαι κα
τηπ[ειχθ]η μηκετι
[των] σω[μ]ατων [. . .]
[. . ο]μοιως τε[. . . . .

5 or 6 lines lost

21. ν of παν corr.

Fr. 1. Col. ii (complete).

[. . . .]σθαι ουκ αν διω
[ρ]υξε τον τοιχον· πο
[θ]εν γαρ ανθρωπος
[μ]ηδεν κατεπειγο
[μ]ενος αλλ εχων την
[ε]ξουσιαν και τα παρ ε
κεινης ειδεναι και
τα παρ αυτου λεγειν
[κ]αι τ[ους ? . .] · ους ο
[. . . . .] ποιεισθαι
[. . . . .] . ον επι
[. . . . .]νων α . [.]αι

Fr. 1. Col. iii (complete).

απερ ουτοι π[ρουθεν ?
το· νυν δ εκ[ε]ιν[ο]ν μεν [
εωρων κα[θ] υπερβο
λην ασθ[ε]νως δια
κειμεν[ο]ν ταυτην
δε τ[ην τ]ης ο[ι]κιας
μ[ε]λλουσαν κυριευ
ε[ι]ν π[ο]λυ προ οφθαλ
μων ανελαμβα
νον μη παθοντος
τι τουτου τιμωριαν
ὑποσχωσιν ων αν

[. . . . .] . ην επ[. .] .
[. . . . .]ντων τηλι
κο[υτος ? ω]ν ουδεπο
τε [. . . . .]ατο και
το[υτωι ουδε]πο[θ ο
Χρ[εμης ? την] οικιαι
απ[ειπεν ?] και μην
αδυν[ατο]υ γε ειχεν
ταξιν το τας θερα
παινας αυτης προς
τουτον διαφερεσθαι·
τις [γ]αρ αν ουτως εγε
νηθη θρασεια ωστε
η τα παρα τουτου
ρηθεντα· [[τα παρα
τουτου ρηθεντα]]
η τα παρ εκεινης
προς τουτον πα[ρα
σιωπησαι της ιδια[ς
εχθρας [εν]εκα· προ
[χ]ει[ρος δε] ην ο κιν
[δυνος ει ? μ]εν γαρ
[. . . . .]ν συν
[. . . . .]νειν·
[. . . . .]ν τα σω
[ματα . . . . .]υγην
[. . . . .]τειν

τεπ[ρα]ξαν· ουκουν
ουτ[ε δ]ιερυχθηναι
οι
τον τ[[υ]]χον ὑπο του
του πιθανον ουτε
ειωθει καθαπ[ε]ρ λε[
γει ταις θεραπαιναις
διαλεγεσθαι· τ[ινος
γαρ ενεκεν· [τι ? προς
[[γαρ]] αυτον τ[αυτας
διενεχ[θηναι εδει ?
ον φιλο[φρονεστερον ?
δη της [δεσποινης ?
προσφε[ρομενης αυ
τωι· επ[. . . . . .
τα
τι ποτ α[. . . . . .
ο Λυκοφ[ρων . . . . . .
δοντος [. . . . . .
και νη Δι[α . . . . . .
κατεφρον[ησε . . . . .
τε τον με[. . . . . .
ὑπελαβε κ[αι . . . . . .
τον δηλ[. . . . . ου
δεποθ ὑπ[. . . . . .
και κατετ[. . . . . .
αμφοτερ[. . . . . ου
δετερω[. . . . . .
ων συν[. . . . . .

92. l. [δ]ιορυχθηναι.

95. Second α of καθαπ[ε]ρ corr. from ο.

Fr. 2.

Col. i (top).

[. . . . .]ν συνοι
[κ . . . . .]νοι κυρι

Col. ii (top) + Frs. 3 and 14 ?

(υ)μεις οι μ[. . .]ου δικα
ζοντε[[ς Λυκοφρο]νος κα

[. . . . .] . ωσιν·
[. . . . .] . υσει
[. . . . .]ωτατην
[. . . . .] παρη
[. . . . .]μενηι·
[. . . . . τ̣]ουτον
[. . . . .]τ̣α· αλ
[λα . . . . .]υτα
[. . . . .] δ̣ιαρρη
[δην . . . . .]τ̣ης
[11 letters] . ειν
[13 „] .
[13 „] .
[11 „]ε̣κα
[14 „]
[14 „]
[13 „]ο̣
[11 „] . αλ
[11 „] . τ̣ισ
[12 „]θο
[13 „] .
[13 „]α̣σ
[13 „]κ̣α
[14 „]
[14 „]
[14 „]υ
[14 „]σ̣
[14 „] . ι̣
11 lines lost

Fr. 3.

σ]θαι . . [
]καθυ[

ταγνω̣|[σε]σθ[ε αλλ ?] εαν
γε σωφρο̣|[ν]η̣τ̣[ε . . .] . [.]
μη μον[ον . . . . .
μους αλ[λα και . .
νους̣ [. . . . . .
ναι[. . . . . .
α . [. . . . . .
2 lines lost
[. .]ι̣σ|θαι . . [. . . . .
που | καθ υ[. . . . . .
αντεχεσ[θαι . . . .
πως πιθα̣[νον . . ι
ε̣ναι τοις . [. . . . . .
τ̣οντα το[. . . . . .
[σ]θαι μ̣εν . [. . . . . .
τ̣ην εχο[. . . . η
λι̣κι̣[α]ν τα̣[. . . . . .
χωρησε[. . . . . .
ρ
δ̣ απεπε[. . . . . .
ϊεσθαι τ̣η̣[. . . . . .
δ[. .] τον [. . . . . .
μεν του[. . . . . .
ϋ[π]ερ ω̣ν̣ [. . . . . .
σ[[ο̣]]ω̣φ̣ρ̣ο̣ν̣[. . . . . .
δ ομολογει[. . . .
και γαρ ει τις [. . . .
τη̣π̣[. . .] ταυ[. . . .
α[.]τ[. . . . . .
αν δ̣η̣π̣[. . . . . .
δ
μιαν αναι̣α̣[. . . .
κατ αυτου τ[. . . .
ειπειν η̣ξιω[σ . . .
[[τ]]ει μεν ε̣κ τ[ου ? δι

Fr. 4.

]ρ̣[.]λ̣
]εκτο̣
]ησθ̣[
] . . .

Frs. 5 (top) + 4. Plate iii.

μενον [. . . . . πα
ρ αυτων . . . . . .
την επιτ̣[. . . . . .
τομενον . [. . .
. [.]ησομενην [προς ?
τ]ους συνπολι̣τευ
ομενους διαβο[λην
τισιν ουν τεκμ̣[η
ριο[[υ]]ς χρησαμε[νος
τουτους κελευ̣[ει
καταδικαζειν· χ̣[ρη
τ̣[α]ι νη Δια τ̣αι̣[ς των
κ̣ηδεστων μ̣[αρτυ
ρ̣[ι]αις Ανασχετ̣[ου
και Θεομνηστ[ου και
Κριτωνος ας καλ[ως
εχον εστιν ω α[ν
δρες δικασται μ[η
παρερ̣[γως] εξε̣[τα
σαι· την [γα]ρ̣ ολη[ν κα
τ̣ηγορι[αν] | εκ το[. .
[. .]τοις [. . .]ησθ̣[. .
[. . .]ε̣α̣[. . .] . . . . .

Fr. 8.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
]ο̣ς	[. .]να

εφθαρκεν̣[αι την αν
θρ[[ι]]ωπον [. . . . . ε
πιτ . . . . . .
ηρ . . . . . .

Fr. 6 (top).

γαρ αν αυτ[. . . . . ε
κεινους το̣ . . . . . .
οθ' ουτο̣ι τα̣[. . . . . ε
πραττον ο̣[. . . . . .
[. .]α̣σα . . . . [. . . . .
. .]θ ε̣τερ̣[. . . . . .
. .]υ̣ ε .] . σ̣ . [. . . . . .
. .]υ̣τω . . [. . . . . .
[μ]ε̣νοις πιθ̣ανον ε
[σ]τιν̣ ουτε τ̣[. . . . .
[.]η . σπευδ̣ . . . . .
[ου]τ̣ε τ̣ον τ̣[. . . . . .
[. . . .]ον̣τ . η[. . . . . .
[ισ]τ̣αναι· τ . [. . . . .
[. .] πραττ̣ε̣[. . . . . .
[. .] . υτ[. . . . . .
[.] . . ν̣τ̣ες τ[. . . . .
. . .] . [. . . . . .
[. . . . .]ναις [. . . . . .

Fr. 7.

[ο]π̣ως̣ . . . . . .
[. .]λο̣[. . . . . η
συχια[. . . . . .
γινω . [. . . . . ακη
κοατ̣ε . . . . . .

Fr. 9.

]ιοτ[
]τοσ̣[

Fr. 12.

] . εμφ̣[
]που̣[

ησαι·
]να
]τις
]χν
]το
]ου

260 σασθα[ι
μενο[
π[ρ
χ[
θ . οπ[

Fr. 10.

267]τε[
]. . [

Fr. 11.

269] συν[

272]οαχ[
]ροσα[
]εχ[

Fr. 13 (tops of cols.).

Col. i.

275]
]
]
] .
]εν
280]περ[.
] . σ . . . .
]τ[. . . .

Col. ii.

[τ]ωι Χα[ριπ]πω[ι] την [α
δελφη]ν ε]ις [Ο]λυ[μπιαν
285 αποδημησα[ι] τον Δ[ι
ωξιππ[ο]ν στεφανω
σ[ο]ντα την πολιν· Αυ
κοφρονα δε τεως μεν
[[λυ]]πεμποντα επισ[το
290 [λα]ς λεγειν [. . . . .]κει
[. . . . .]η . [. . . . .]τ[.
[. . . . .] . . . [. . . . . .

Col. iii.

[. . .]υ[
δ . . [
295 θεν . [
επειν[
[. . .] . [
α[.]το[
θειται· ε[
300 γασμ[
5 lines lost
306 . . . [
[.]υνα . [
[.]αθ[. .]θ[
[.]ευτ[
310 [.] . τα[ι . [
[. .]ξω· κ[
[.] . ου[

Fr. 14 (top).

[. . . . .]ου δικα
[. . . . .]νος κα
315 [. . . .]σθ[. . . .] εαν
[. . . .] . τ[. . . .] . .]

Fr. 15.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

330 α[. . . . . φα
νεραν [. . . . . συ
κοφαν[τ . . . . . .
σθαι· α . [. . . . . υ
περ ων [. . . . . .
335 λογοι[. . . . . .

Fr. 16.

. [
φ[
. ε[
355 με[
τοι[
τα[
ξιν[

Fr. 18.

]μ[
]τελ[
375]υτ[
]κειο . [
]στου . [
] την ε[
]δ . [

τες κα[θαπερ λε ?
γει πε . [. . . . . ε
. . πιστολα̣ς . . . . . .
]ο̣ τα ως εφ[. . . . . .
] . 340 κους αχα̣[. . . . . .
]α ουν εστ[ι . . . . . .
320]ο σκων· κ[. . . . . .
] . α τον· κα[. . . . . .
] ελευθε[ρ . . . . . .
] 345 μα̣ι[.] . [. . . . . .
] ρακ̣ω[. . . . . .
325] τος· [. . . . . .
] νις̣[. . . . . .
] ταυ̣ . [. . . . . .
] 350 ζης̣ . [. . . . . .
] το̣ . [. . . . . .
end of col.

πον . [
360 παραδ̣[Fr. 19.
των [380]δα[
τ̣α πλ . [ ]δε[
η̣δε̣[ ]ε . [
τ̣απ̣[ ] . [
365 λεω̣[

Fr. 17. Fr. 20.
]μ[ ] . [
]σσ[385]αρ[.] . [
] . ε . [ ]η̣ν μ[
] . ν̣[ ] . ει τοις . [
370]μι . [ ]σαν πι[
]ω̣ εσ̣[ ]υτον ε[
]σα[390] . μ̣α̣ .
]τ̣α[

Fr. 21.

Col. i. Col. ii.

[. . . . . .] ποιησα̣σ
[. . . . . .]τιαν γε
[. . . . . π]ρος αυτους
395 . . . . . γμ̣[α]τος
. . . . . ε]κει[ν]ου
[. . . . . κ]ατασκευ
[. . . . . .]αθειν
[. . . . . .]του . [
400 [. . . . . .]κ̣ουσ . [
[. . . . . .]οι περι
[. . . . . .]ζω ει
[. . . . . .]γειν . . .
[. . . . . .] εξε 408 α[
405 [. . . . . πρ]οηρει τα̣[

Fr. 22.

] . . [
] ὑπο του̣[
πα ?]ρ̣οινεισθ̣[αι ?
]τ̣ον τ̣ο̣[
415]μιαι . . [
]νεσθαι [
]υσ̣[.] . . [

Fr. 23.

]ν̣τ̣ο̣[
] επ̣ειδ̣[η
420]παμου̣[
]ς και πασ[ης
]συνης . [
] . σαι μ̣[

]ο α[[τ]] . [
]. ν . θ[
]ωπ[

Fr. 24.

]π[
]δη . [
]τον . [
]μου[
]αυδ . [
]μησα[
]δαιν̣η[.]ιτ
]. αυτο[
]τ . [
]ο[

Fr. 25 (top).

]ν[
]πε . [
]ειπ[
]σος δε [

Fr. 26.

]απισ[
]ρεσ[
]ασι . [
]ειδ[

Fr. 27 (top).

μη π[
λογη[
μηδε [

Fr. 28.

]α . [
]νε . [
]τη[
] περι [
]ναυ[

Fr. 29.

]. ου . [
]νε[
] ὁ δε [
]ην το . [
]. ιους απασ̣τ[
]. δοι τ . . [
]νος μεν . [
]ια ευλα . [
] δε τ̣αις . [
end of col.

Fr. 30.

]. . ο . [. . .
]αι· ωστε . [.
]τ̣ην τ̣[.
o]υδεις εστιν
end of col.

Fr. 31.

]νο
] προς
· χ · ·

Fr. 32.

]α[
]τ . [
]. υ[
]. θ̣ερα[παιν
]. θ[
]. ε[

Fr. 33.

]λου[
]. νε[

Fr. 34.

λα[
συ[
. [
φ[
α[
τ̣[

Fr. 35.

]. [
]ι . [
]υτ[
]. ν
]τα[
]. [

Fr. 36.

]αρα[
]η[
]ερι[
]οδ[

Fr. 37.

]ον[
]ει . [
]ε[

Fr. 38.

]ασ[
]επ[

Fr. 39.	Fr. 40.	Fr. 41.	Fr. 42.	Fr. 43.
498]..δι.[	500]μ[	502].τ[	]..[	506].νο[
]ι τοις.[	].ετ[	]τ[	505]στα[	].[
end of col.				

Fr. 44.	Fr. 45.	Fr. 46.	Fr. 47.
508]τετ[	509]νο[	510]π[	511].τι[

Fr. 1. (i) . . . *του του]ν δι[ο]ρύξαι τὸν [τοῖχο]ν τ[ῆ]ς πρὸς τὴν [ἄνθρ]ωπον ὁμιλίας [ἕνε]κεν οὐδαμῶς [πιθ]ανόν ἐστιν. οὔτε γὰ[ρ] ὡς ⟨πρὸς⟩ τοὺς πρότερον αὐτῷ λειτουργοῦντας καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι κελεύ[οι] προθύμως ὑπομένοντας διηνέχθη δεδήλωκεν, οὔθ' ὕτι γενομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀψιμαχίας ἐκεῖνοι τὴν χρείαν [ἀ]τείπαντο, ὅθεν ὁ Λυκόφρων ἐπὶ τὸ τὸν τοῖχον διορῦξαι κατηπ[είχθ]η, μηκέτι [τῶν] σω[μ]άτων [. . . . . ὁ]μοίως τε[. . .* (ii) *. . . .]σθαι οὐκ ἂν διώ[ρ]υξε τὸν τοῖχον. πό[θ]εν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος [μ]ηδὲν κατεπειγό[μ]ενος ἀλλ' ἔχων τὴν [ἐ]ξουσίαν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνης εἰδέναι καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ λέγειν [κ]αὶ . . .* (l. 55) *καὶ το[ύτῳ οὐδέ]ποθ' ὁ Χρ[έμης? τὴν] οἰκίαν ἀπ[εῖπεν?] καὶ μὴν ἀδυν[άτο]υ γε εἶχεν τάξιν τὸ τὰς θεραπαίνας αὐτῆς πρὸς τοῖτον διαφέρεσθαι. τίς [γ]ὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἐγενήθη θρασεῖα ὥστε ἢ τὰ παρὰ τούτου ῥηθέντα ἢ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνης πρὸς τοῦτον πα[ρα]σιωπῆσαι τῆς ἰδία[ς] ἔχθρας [ἕν]εκα; πρό[χ]ει[ρος δὲ] ἦν ὁ κίν[δυνος. εἰ? μ]ὲν γὰρ . . .* (iii) *ἅπερ οὗτοι π[ρούθεν?]το. νῦν δ' ἐκ[ε]ῖν[ο]ν μὲν ἑώρων κα[θ'] ὑπερβολὴν ἀσθ[ε]νῶς διακείμει[ο]ν, ταύτην δὲ τ[ὴν τ]ῆς οἰ[κίας μ[ε]λλουσαν κυριεύε[ι]ν π[ο]λὺ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνελάμβανον, μὴ παθόντος τι τούτου τιμωρίαν ὑποσχῶσιν ὧν ἀντέπ[ρα]ξαν. οὔκουν οὔτ[ε δ]ι⟨ο⟩ρυχθῆναι τὸν τοῖχον ὑπὸ τούτου πιθανόν, οὔτε εἰώθει, καθάπ[ε]ρ λέγει, ταῖς θεραπαίναις διαλέγεσθαι. τ[ίνος] γὰρ ἕνεκεν; [τί? πρὸς] αὐτὸν τ[αύτας] διενεχ[θῆναι ἔδει (?)], ὃν φιλο[φρονέστερον?] δὴ τῆς [δεσποίνης?] προτιθε[μένης αὐ]τῷ . . .*

'That he dug through the wall for the sake of intercourse with the woman is not at all credible. For the accuser has not shown either that he quarrelled with the persons who were in his service and readily submitted to any of his orders, or that owing to an altercation with him they renounced their intimacy, in consequence of which Lycophron was reduced to digging through the wall, since the servants were no longer . . .

. . . he would not have dug through the wall. For why should a man, who was not in straits, but in a position both to get news from her and to send messages from himself, . . .?

. . . and Chremes never forbade him the house (?). Moreover that her maids quarrelled with him was as good as impossible. For which of them could have become so bold as to pass over in silence either his messages to her or her messages to him for the sake of private enmity? The danger was close at hand; for . . . But, as it was, they saw that he was in an excessively weak state, while she who was about to become the owner of the house was kept before their eyes, for fear that if anything happened to him they would suffer punishment for their revenge. It is therefore incredible that Lycophron dug through the wall, and he was not in the habit, as stated by the accuser, of conversing with the maidservants. Why should he have done so? What need was there for them to quarrel with him when, their mistress being on quite familiar terms with him, they . . .?'

Fr. 5. 212 *τίσιν οὖν τεκμ[η]ρίοις χρησάμε[νος] τούτους κελεύ[ει] καταδικάζειν; χ[ρῆ]τ[α]ι, νὴ Δία, ταῖ[ς τῶν] κηδεστῶν μ[αρτυ]ρίαις Ἀνασχέτ[ου] καὶ Θεομνήστ[ου καὶ] Κρίτωνος, ἃς καλ[ῶς] ἔχον ἐστίν, ὦ ἄ[ν]δρες δικασταί, μ[ὴ] παρέρ[γως] ἐξε[τά]σαι. τὴν [γὰ]ρ ὅλη[ν κα]τηγορί[αν] ἐκ το[. . .*

'On what proofs then does he rely when he bids them (sc. his fellow-citizens) give

a verdict of guilty? He relies forsooth on the evidence of his relatives by marriage, Anaschetus, Theomnestus, and Criton, which it is your duty, gentlemen of the jury, to examine with special care. For the whole accusation (depends) on . . .'

18. [πιθ]ανον: cf. ll. 94, 173, 236.

19. ⟨προς⟩: cf. ll. 61–2.

24. δεδηλωκεν: the subject is ὁ κατήγορος, sc. Ariston; cf. int. p. 76.

26. αψιμαχιας: cf. Aeschin. *De fals. leg.* 176. ἀψιμαχεῖν is quoted from Hyperides by Antiatticista ap. Bekk. *Anecd.* 79. 12.

30–1. κατηπ[ειχθ]η: cf. l. 43.

32. σω[μ]ατων: cf. l. 76 and int. p. 76.

33. τε[: or τρ[. The second letter may have been corrected.

48.]. ους: ε or ρ can be read instead of ο.

53–4. τηλικο[υτος? ω]ν: the reference might be to the age of dying husband (cf. ll. 80–3 and int.); but it seems more likely that he is the subject not of]ατο in l. 55 but of the verb in l. 58, and that Lycophron is the subject as far as l. 55. In that case the point of τηλικο[υτος would be that Lycophron was over 50 years of age when the trial took place, an argument used in his defence on the charge of adultery in *Lycophr.* § 15.

56–8. The restorations are highly conjectural, but ο χρ[looks like a proper name, and a mention of the husband, whose name is unknown, but who is called ἐκεῖνος in l. 80, is very appropriate here. τα[υτηι is inadmissible in l. 56.

63. εγενηθη: this form, which is common in the third century B.C., occurs in the MSS. of Plato, *Phileb.* 62 d ἐξεγενήθη ἡμῖν (ἐξεγένεθ' ἡμῖν Stallbaum), and in two fragments of Philemon; cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 109, and int. p. 76.

69. πα[ρα]σιωπησαι: cf. int. p. 76.

71–3. προ[χ]ει[ρος δε] ην ο κιν[δυνος: cf. Hyper. *Epitaph.* 17 εἰς τὸ κινδυνεύειν [πρ]οχείρως.

73. ει? μ]εν γαρ: μεν is required to balance νυν δε in l. 80, but may have come in l. 76.

76. σω[ματα: cf. l. 32.

77–9.]ττειν is perhaps διορυ]ττειν (cf. ll. 14, 30, 92) and]υγην might be διορ]υγην or διωρ]υγην, though neither form is classical, the best MSS. in Dem. vii. 40 having διορυχή. But π[ρουθεν]το, if that is the right restoration, does not fit in very well with a reference to digging through the wall. ουτοι are the σώματα.

80. εκ[ε]ιν[ο]ν: cf. ll. 56–8, n. The first husband of the woman is similarly alluded to in *Lycophr.* xlvi ἐπε]ιδὴ ἐτε[λεύτησεν ἐκ]εῖνος and xlvii ἐκεῖνος [κτοῦ]σαν τὴν γυνα[ῖκα ἐξ] αὐτοῦ καταλέ[λοιπε]ν. μεν already projects for some distance into the margin, and there is no room for [αν after it, if αν ελαμβανον be read in l. 87; cf. n. *ad loc.*

82. ασθ[ε]νως διακειμεν[ο]ν: cf. *Lycophr.* § 17 ἀπόρως διακειμένους.

86–8. προ οφθαλμων ανελαμβανον: cf. *Epitaph.* 17 πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὁρώμενα αὐτοῖς τὰ δεινά, and Polyb. ii. 35 λαμβάνων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ παράδοξον τῶν τότε γενομένων. There seems to be no instance of ἀναλαμβάνειν with πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, but with the division αν ελαμβανον it is necessary to suppose the omission of αν in l. 80.

97. διαλεγεσθαι: cf. int. p. 77.

98. The supposed stop after ενεκεν might be the beginning of τ. For the supplements in ll. 98–100 cf. ll. 60–2.

108. νη Δι[α: cf. l. 216, *Demosth.* i. 7, *Euxenip.* 12, 14, 27.

111. υπελαβε: a favourite word of Hyperides, occurring 11 times in his speeches.

128. διαρρη[δην: cf. *Athenog.* 10, 16.

159–62. It is very doubtful whether Fr. 14, containing the supposed ends of these lines, is rightly placed here, for the colour of it is different, especially on the verso (cf. int. p. 74), and at a junction with the upper margin of Fr. 2, which becomes necessary, the

fibres of the recto do not harmonize very well. οι μ[ισθ]ου δικα¦ζοντες is too short. οιμ[αι is possible, and ου may be the negative.

170–1. Fr. 3 seems to be rightly placed here. καθ ν[περβολην is not unlikely in l. 171; cf. l. 81.

198. This line was probably the last of the column, which is already slightly longer than usual (40 lines compared to 39 in Fr. 1).

199–200. Cf. ll. 170–1, n.

201–4. Fr. 4 almost certainly belongs to ll. 224–7.

208. τομενον: the last two letters are very doubtful; but cf. l. 205. τομενην cannot be read.

218–20. The very rare name Ἀνάσχετος occurs also in C. I. A. ii. 804 Ba (Ἀν. Δημοτέλους Ἀλαιεύς) in a list of sureties in 340 B.C. for some triremes supplied to the Chalcidians, the preceding name being Κρίτων Ἀστυόχου Κυδαθηναιεύς, who is also mentioned in C.I.A. ii. 807, and included among the κάλλιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν by Aeschin. *Contra Timarch.* 156. Probably these two persons are identical with Ἀνάσχετος and Κρίτων here. For Θεόμνηστος cf. *Lycophr.* § 2 τὸ δ' ἀργύριον Θεο[μνή]στῳ δίδωσιν (sc. Ariston)· ἐκεῖνος δὲ λαμβάνων ἀνδράποδα ἀγοράζει, καὶ παρέχει ὥσπερ τοῖς λῃσταῖς ἐπισιτισμόν, καὶ δίδωσι τούτῳ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τοῦ ἀνδραπόδου ὀβολὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ὅπως ἂν ᾖ ἀθάνατος συκοφάντης.

220–1. καλ[ως] εχον: cf. *Demosth.* viii. 22 καλῶς [ἔχειν τὸν] Ἅρπαλον [ἐγδοῦναι τ]ὴν πόλιν, *Lycophr.* § 11 καὶ τοῦτο πῶς καλῶς ἔχει σὲ μὲν . . . τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιήσασθαι.

222–3. μ[η] παρερ[γως] εξε[τα]σαι: cf. *Athenog.* 13 τούς τε νόμους ἐξετάζειν . . . πάρεργα τἄλλα πάντα ποιησάμενον.

228–31. It is not absolutely certain that these are the beginnings of lines.

236. πιθ[ανον: cf. l. 18.

283. [τ]ωι Χα[ριπ]πω[ι]: the traces of the supposed πω are very slight and indecisive, but a mention of Charippus, to whom Dioxippus gave his sister in second marriage, and who figures largely in the charges discussed in *Lycophr.* §§ 3–7, is very appropriate; cf. int. p. 75. εγδοντα or προ του εγδουναι is to be supplied at the end of the preceding column; cf. *Lycophr.* § 5 καὶ γὰρ οὗτος (sc. Dioxippus) ἠκολούθει διὰ τὸ χήραν ἐγδίδοσθαι αὐτήν.

284. ε]ις [ο]λυ[μπιαν: it is not certain that any letter is missing in the lacuna after ε]ις, and the following vestiges would also suit αι[or ατ[or possibly ισ[, but Dioxippus was victorious as a pancratiast at Olympia according to Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 139 and others. The date assigned to his victory by Foerster, *Olymp. Sieger*, no. 381, is 336 B.C., but there is no very definite evidence for fixing the year, except the fact that Dioxippus went to Asia with Alexander (Diod. xvii. 100–1), i.e. in 335 or 334, and died there, so that he cannot have been at Olympia after 336. The oration of Hyperides against Lycophron is generally assigned to 340 B.C., and if [ο]λυ[μπιαν is right the victory of Dioxippus was more probably in 340, or even 344, than in 336.

286–7. στεφανωσ[ο]ντα: στεφανωσ[α]ντα does not suit the size of the lacuna.

288. The τ of τεως has either been corrected from ι or else been inserted later.

289. The letter before πεμποντα seems to have been σ or υ with a stroke through it, and the vestige of the preceding letter rather suggests α or λ, so that probably the scribe began to write αυτωι or Λυκοφρονι, but corrected it.

313–16. Cf. ll. 159–62, n.

336–7. For κυ[θαπερ λε]γει cf. l. 95.

427–36. These are perhaps the beginnings of lines; but if so, δα projects into the margin of l. 433.

1608. Aeschines Socraticus, *Alcibiades*.

Fr. 4 16 × 9·8 cm. Late second century.
Plate III (Fr. 4).

The source of these scanty fragments of a dialogue between Socrates and Alcibiades, chiefly concerning the character of Themistocles, is shown to be the *Alcibiades* of Aeschines Socraticus by coincidences with two of the six extant quotations from that lost dialogue. Aeschines was one of the most important followers of Socrates, being often placed by ancient critics next in rank to Plato and Xenophon. His reputation rested not so much on his own contributions to the development of his master's philosophy, which seem to have been inconsiderable, but on the elegance of his style, which is specially praised by Aristides and Hermogenes, and on the fidelity of his representation of Socrates, which even led to the accusation in antiquity that the master, not the disciple, was the author of the dialogues (Diog. Laert. *Vita Aeschinis*, ii. 7). The recovery of new fragments of the *Alcibiades* is therefore a matter of some interest, especially in view of the current controversy initiated by Prof. Burnet concerning the historical character of the Platonic Socrates.

The extant fragments of Aeschines' seven genuine dialogues have recently been collected and discussed by H. Krauss (Teubner, 1911) and more fully by H. Dittmar (*Philol. Untersuch.* xxi. 1912). Much the longest is Fr. 1 (Krauss) of the *Alcibiades* from Aristides, *orat.* 46 (ii. 292 sqq., Dindorf) containing a panegyric upon Themistocles addressed to Alcibiades by Socrates, and concluding with a warning that even Themistocles' ἐπιστήμη was not strong enough to save him from disasters. Another passage in the same oration of Aristides (ii. 369) not only supplies a second fragment (small), which Krauss, following C. F. Hermann, assigns to a position immediately preceding Fr. 1, but gives a general description of the context of Fr. 1, from which it appears that Alcibiades was reduced to tears by the sense of his own inferiority to Themistocles. Before the end of the dialogue, which was put into the form of a narrative by Socrates, as is shown by the use of the first person in referring to him, Alcibiades seems to have left, and Frs. 3 and 4 (from Aristid. *orat.* 45) apparently belong to the conclusion of the dialogue, being part of an explanation of Socrates' general point of view in relation to Alcibiades, addressed to an unknown third participator in the conversation. Frs. 5 and 6, from Priscianus and Athenaeus respectively, are unimportant; but evidently the general drift of the whole dialogue was similar to that of the (Pseudo-)Platonic *Alcibiades*, a desire to curb the arrogance of Alcibiades. Aristides in fact contrasts the two dialogues, to the disadvantage of Plato. There are also apparent allusions to

Aeschines' dialogue in Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 77 and Augustin, *De civit. dei*, xiv. 8; cf. Dittmar's Fr. 10, and pp. 99–103 of his edition. These indicate that Socrates showed Alcibiades, who thought himself *beatus* (εὐδαίμων), that he was really *stultus* (ἀμαθής), and as such *miser* (ἄθλιος), with the result that Alcibiades entreated Socrates to free him from *turpitudo* (αἰσχρότης) and teach him *virtus* (ἀρετή).

Of the 19 (originally 25) fragments of the papyrus only six are large enough to be of any value, and the longest continuous passage is less than 20 lines (ll. 34–52). Fr. 5 (ll. 77–87) contains after parts of 5 new lines Krauss's Fr. 2, immediately followed, as he had correctly surmised, by the beginning of his Fr. 1. This is continued after a gap in Frs. 6 and 7, the latter fragment containing the bottoms of two columns. Since the extent of the missing portion of Fr. 7. ii is known to have been approximately 19 lines, there were about 30 lines in a column, and probably Fr. 5, of which the upper margin is broken off, is from the top of a column; for Frs. 5, 6, and 7. i together account for 30 lines. With regard to the position of the other fragments, none of them belongs to the four columns immediately following Fr. 7. ii, all of which must have been occupied by the remainder of the extant panegyric on Themistocles, and internal evidence indicates that at any rate Frs. 1, 2, and 4 preceded Frs. 5–7. Fr. 1 is placed in that position because the reference to Themistocles in l. 3 may be the first introduction of his name into the discussion, which continues to be occupied with him in Frs. 4–7. Socrates seems to have asked a question reflecting on his interlocutor's (presumably Alcibiades') relations to his parents, adducing as a parallel the bad relations of Themistocles to his parents—a remark which draws a protest from Alcibiades (ll. 1–6). The next question is concerned with a different subject, whether people are first μουσικοί and ἱππικοί or the opposite, the second alternative being naturally adopted by Alcibiades (ll. 7–15), at which point the fragment ceases to be intelligible. The story that Themistocles had been disinherited by his father, which is mentioned by Plutarch and other writers (cf. ll. 38–9, n.), had in any case been alluded to by Socrates before Fr. 4, in which Alcibiades is definitely stated to be the other speaker (l. 50); for in ll. 36–48 the latter expressed his surprise at the supposed disinheritance, and vigorously condemned the character of Themistocles implied by such an incident. There is an apparent connexion between this speech of Alcibiades and the reference at the beginning of Socrates' panegyric on Themistocles (ll. 85–7) to Alcibiades' boldness in criticizing that statesman; but Frs. 5–7 cannot be combined with the remains of Fr. 4. ii, so that at least one column intervened between Fr. 4. i and Frs. 5–7, though the gap is not likely to be wide. The next question of Socrates (ll. 48 sqq.) is incompletely preserved and somewhat

obscure, as is the point of his remark in ll. 34–6, which preceded the outburst of Alcibiades and mentions Apollodorus' defence τοῦ φαύλου. This Apollodorus is presumably the inseparable companion of Socrates who appears as the narrator in Plato's *Symposium*, and he seems to have taken part in the conversation in Aeschines' dialogue. Though there is no reason to assign any of the remarks in the extant portion of **1608** to Apollodorus, the two remarks from the end of the dialogue (Frs. 3 and 4 Krauss ; cf. p. 88) may well have been addressed to him : Anytus has been suggested there, but as a mere guess. The position of Fr. 2 is more doubtful, since there is no apparent reference in it to Themistocles ; but there seems to be a connexion between ἀπο]λογίας in l. 28 and ἀπολογεῖσθαι in l. 36, so that Fr. 2 is likely to have preceded Fr. 4 with no very great interval. The first 5 lines of Fr. 5 apparently belong not to a speech but, like the next 3, to a piece of narrative : Alcibiades, who is meant by αὐτόν in l. 82, is probably also indicated by αὐτῷ in l. 79. Lines 82–136 correspond to Krauss's Fr. 2 and part of 1. Here there are some small variations between **1608** and the MSS. of Aristides, whose quotations do not seem to be exact. In ll. 130–2, where the MSS. are corrupt, **1608** is incompletely preserved, but does not seem to have been right ; cf. n. *ad loc.* The papyrus as a whole is too short to prove much ; but such glimpses of Aeschines' style as it affords indicate a close resemblance between his picture of Socrates and Plato's in the earlier dialogues, and so far as they go rather support Prof. Burnet's view that Plato was there giving a true representation of Socrates' teaching.

1608 was found with **841–4**, **1606–7**, &c. The handwriting is a good-sized elegant uncial of the sloping oval type, with a tendency to exaggerate the size of *α* and *υ*. It is a somewhat later specimen of this type than **24** (Demosthenes, *προοίμια δημηγορικά* : Part i, Plate vii) and **665** (*History of Sicily* : Part iv, Plate i), but earlier than e.g. **223** (Homer E : Part ii, Plate i) and Schubart, *Pap. Graecae*, 19 b (Hesiod, *Catalogue*), and probably belongs to the latter half of the second century. Iota adscript was generally written. Changes of speaker are indicated (perhaps not consistently) by double dots with or without paragraphi, and two kinds of stops, a high and a low point, are employed, besides occasional diaereses over initial *ι* and *υ*. A mark of elision in l. 53 seems to be due to the original scribe, but an accent and breathing in l. 37 are probably by the (contemporary) corrector, who has altered mistakes in ll. 10, 37 (?), and 42. A critical mark against l. 138 probably refers to a lost marginal note. The scribe seems to have been rather prone to omissions ; cf. ll. 10 and 48–50. The fragments are or may be from the middles of columns, except where it is stated otherwise.

Fr. 1.

. [. . . . . περι τους
σεαυτου γον[εας γεγε ?
νησθαι. οιος περ [ο Θε
μιστοκλης λεγεται [πε
ρι τους εαυτου γο[νεας :
ευφημει εφη ω Σ[ωκρα
τες : π[ο]τερον δε δοκει [
σοι το[ις] ανθρωποις αν[αγ
καιο[ν] ειναι αμου[σους
ρ
ποτε[ρο]ν η μουσικο[υς γι
νεσ[θα]ι· και ποτερο[ν α
φι[ππους] η ιππικο[υς : α
ναγ[καιο]ν μοι δοκει [
αμου[σους] προτερον κ[αι
αφιπ[πους :] ουκο[υν . . .
[.]ο̣χ[. . . . .]ην λ̣[. . . .
[. . . . . .]παν̣[. . . . .

Fr. 2.

[. . . . . .]υ̣[. . . . . .
[. . . .]τηριους̣ [. . . . . .
[ο]υδετερους δει̣[. . . .
α̣· ουτε γαρ τους̣ [. . . . . .
[ουδ]οτιουν δε[. . . . . .
τ̣ησθαι ηπε̣[. . . . . .
[. .] ωστε α̣[. . . . . .
[.] των δικ[. . . . . δι
απραξασθα[ι . . . . . ε
παινειν· ουτ̣[ε . . . . . .
νες δια τας τοι[αυτας απο
λογιας απεγν[ωσαν αν
θρωπων με̣[. . . . . .
[. . . .]τω . [. . . . . .

Fr. 3.

]υ̣τα̣[

Fr. 4. Col. i. Plate iii.

[. . . . . .]υ̣[. . . . . .
καλως δε κα[ι] ο Απολ̣[λο
δωρος υπερ του φαυ̣[λου
απολογειεσθαι : αλλ ε̣κε̣[ι
νο ἢ δ ὃς εγω ουκ αν ωμη̣[ν
τον Θεμιστοκλεα ϋπ[ο
του πατρος αποκηρυχ[θη
ναι· φαυλου γαρ και πορ
ρω ανοιας ηκοντα̣ τ̣α
γε τοιαυτα· [[ω]]στις εις δι
αφορας τοιαυτας και ε
χθρας τας μεγιστας
προς τους εαυτου γον[ε
ας κατεστη· ο και παι

Fr. 4. Col. ii. Plate iii.

. . .
ει̣ . [
τεσ̣[
θρω[
η̣τ̣[
α[
[

Frs. 5, 6, 7. Col. i.

ε̣ν̣ τοις [. . . . . .
μεγαλα[. . . . . .
αυτωι ειχε[. . . . . .
κομεινωι τ̣[. . . . . .
αν αμαρτη̣[. . . . . .
γνους ουν α[υτον εγω
οτι ζηλοτυπ̣[ως εχει προς
Θεμιστοκλ[εα ειπον ε
πειδη του [Θεμιστοκλε
ους βιου επι[λαμβανεσ
[θ]αι ετολμη[σας σκεψαι
5 lines lost
[ω Σωκρατες τα] τοιαυτ[α
[ειδεναι : ηδη ο]υιν πωπ[ο

δαριον ευλαβηθηναι
[⟨αν⟩ ευρο]ι̣το : ουτω δη μικρον
[νενο]μικας ειναι την δ ε
[γω ω Α]λκιβιαδη̣ γονεσ̣⟨ι⟩ν
[διαβ ?]ληθηναι. ωστε του
[επιτυχ ?]οντος ανθρωπου
[. . . . .] . τουτ᾽ εσ̣τι . . . .] .
[. . . . .] . σ̣ . [. . .] . [. . .
[12 letters]ταμ[.]ν
[11 „] τ̣ων φαυ
[λοτατων ?] εστιν ει δε
[. . . . .]ν̣ πολιν τε
end of col.

[
. [
γ̣[
α[
γ̣[
δ[
γ̣[
λ . [
τ̣α̣[
. [
[
[
end of col.

[τε σοι εμελησ[εν οτι ταυ̣[
[της της χωρ]ας τοσαυ[
[της ουσης οσ]την ο ηλιο[ς
[πορευεται η] καλειτ[αι
[Ασια εις ανηρ αρχει : π]α̣
[νυ μεν ουν εφη ο γ ?]ε με
[γας βασιλευς : οισ]θ̣α ουν
[οτι εκεινος εσ]τρατευσε
[δευρο και επι] Λακεδαι
[μονιους ηγου]μενος ει
[τουτω τω πολ]εε κατα
[στρεψαιτο ρα]διως τους
end of col.

Fr. 7. Col. ii.

19 lines lost.

[πεζων και] χ̣ρηματω̣[ν
[τα των Ελλη]̣νων πραγμ[α
[τα πολυ ελει]π̣ετο τα δε
[βασιλε]ω̣ς πρυειχεν· αλ[
λ̣ [ηδ]ει οτι ει μη αυτους τ̣[ο ?
βουλ[ευ]εσθαι εκεινο̣ς [πε
ριεστ[αι] τα γε αλλα αυ[τον
τοσαυτα οντα το μεγ[εθος
ο[υ]δ[ε]ν̣ μεγα εμελλεν [ω
φελησειν και τουτο ε̣[γνω
κει αρα οτι οποτερων [αν
end of col.

Fr. 8.

. [
ζ̣[
γα[
χε[
λου[
ωσ . [
ει . [
τε . [
τ̣η[
τ̣ημ̣[
end of col.

Fr. 9.

σ̣α̣υ̣ . [
ηκα[
τρι ρα[
αλλ[
γαρ̣ [[η]] . [
θοι μη[
[.]ι̣οιε[

Fr. 10.

] . [
]νυμ̣[
ω Σωκρ]ατες ο[
]τω . [

Fr. 11.

]υκα̣[
]ν. και το[
]υ̣τωι αδ[
]αντα[

Fr. 12.

[.]οπ̣[
κωσ̣[
προ[
δο . [

Fr. 13.

και[
ξυν̣[
και[

Fr. 14.

]ω̣
]τι
]ι . [

Fr. 15.	Fr. 16.	Fr. 17.	Fr. 18.	Fr. 19.
top of col.	top of col.	176 πλ[	178]αι[	180] . . [
172]ουθε[	α[	λιπ[	]οικ[	]ον[
]ε τοιαυ[τ	175 τω[			

1–6. Probably, as Prof. Burnet, to whom we are indebted for several suggestions in the interpretation of **1608**, remarks, Socrates asked 'Would you be willing to have behaved to your parents as Themistocles is said to have behaved to his?' Alcibiades replies 'Hush, Socrates'.

7–15. 'Do you think that men have to be unmusical before they are musical, and unskilled in riding before they are skilled?—I think that they must first be unmusical and unskilled in riding.' For ἄμουσοι in conjunction with ἄφιπποι cf. Plato, *Rep.* 335c. Burnet thinks that this was part of an argument intended to show that Themistocles did not achieve what he did φύσει (which Alcibiades considered sufficient for himself). Since Themistocles was so unsatisfactory in his youth, he must have become great and acquired ἐπιστήμη by care and practice.

16. [.]οχ[: or [α]ρχ[.

19. Perhaps [δικασ]τηριου ε[.

28. τοι[αυτας απο]λογιας: cf. l. 36 and int.

34–51. '. . . and Apollodorus also to make a good defence on behalf of the mean. —But, he replied, there is this point; I should not have thought that Themistocles was disinherited by his father; for such conduct betokens a mean character and reaches the height of folly, when a person is involved in such quarrels and in the most violent enmity with his parents, which even a child would find a way of avoiding.—Did you think it so small-minded, Alcibiades, said I, to be filled with hatred of one's parents that . . .'

34–5. Απολ[λο]δωρος: cf. int. No orator of this name who was contemporary with Socrates is known. του φαι[λου can be masculine or neuter. As Burnet remarks, Alcibiades may have been relying on his natural gifts, so that the question of κάλλος arose. Apollodorus may well have championed the cause of 'the ugly' (e.g. Socrates); for he certainly stands for the more cynical aspect of Socraticism, as appears from the beginning of the *Symposium*.

36. Of the double dots after απολογεισθαι only the upper is preserved.

αλλ εκε[ι]νο: Burnet compares *Hippias maior* 283 d ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο, μῶν μὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κτλ.

37. ῆ: the first hand perhaps wrote ι.

38–9. Cf. int. and Plut. *Vit. Themist.* 2 ἃ δὲ τούτων ἐξαρτῶσιν ἔνιοι διηγήματα πλάττοντες ἀποκήρυξιν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ . . . δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι, Aelian, *Var. hist.* ii. 12 ἀποκηρυχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, Nepos, *Themist.* 1 *a patre exheredatus est.*

40–1. πορρω ανοιας ηκοντα: cf. Plato, *Euthyd.* 294 e πόρρω σοφίας ἥκεις.

48. [⟨αν⟩ ευρο]ιτο: this reading is not very satisfactory; but εὕροιτο is preferable to εὗροι, the active not being used with an infinitive in classical times, and there is a change of speaker before ουτω, so that [αν ε]υροι with the omission of double dots before ουτω, though a possible reading, is open to still greater objections.

50. γονεσ⟨ι⟩ν: γονεων is inadmissible.

52. [επιτυχ]οντος was suggested by Burnet.

55–9. The fragment containing these lines was originally separate, and is not quite certainly placed here.

61. Probably αν]θρω[π: cf. l. 52.

77. This line is probably the top of the column; cf. int. p. 89.

82–4. γνους . . . Θεμιστοκλ[εα = Aeschin. Fr. 2; cf. int. The MSS. of Aristides have ζηλοτύπως ἔχοντα instead of οτι ζηλοτυπ[ως εχει, and before Θεμιστοκλέα some of the deteriores insert τόν, which was certainly omitted in the papyrus.

84–5. ε]πειδη του: from this point up to l. 136 the papyrus corresponds to the beginning of Aeschin. Fr. 1; cf. int. After ἐπειδή the MSS. of Aristides insert τοίνυν, which is evidently due to looseness of quotation.

93–8. These remains are on a separate fragment, and there is no external evidence for their being near the ends of lines.

94–5. ο]υν πωπ[οτε σοι: οὖν σοι πώποτε MSS. **1608** may have omitted σοι. The ε of εμεληση]εν comes above the α of χωρ]ας in l. 96.

97. οσ]ην: so the 'deteriores', followed by Dindorf and Hermann. AET, which are considered the best MSS., have ὅσον, which is adopted by Fischer, Krauss, and Dittmar. ὅσην is, however, supported by Aristides xiv (i. 325, Dindorf) ὅπερ γάρ τις ἔφη τῶν λογοποιῶν περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγων ὅσην ὁ ἥλιος πορεύεται ταύτης πάσης ἄρχειν ἄνδρα ἕνα.

100. γ?]ε: om. MSS.

105. πολ]εε: so MSS. πόλει Krauss and Dittmar, following Herodian, ii. 2, p. 696 ὡς παρ' Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Σωκρατικῷ τούτω τὼ πόλει: πόλη Hermann, following Choeroboscus.

130–2. εἰ μὴ αὐτοῦ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι ἐκείνοις (ἐκεῖνος E) περιέσται, τά γε ἄλλα αὐτῶν (αὐτόν E) MSS. Dindorf: εἰ μὴ αὐτοῦ τῷ βουλεύεσθαι ἐκεῖνον . . . αὐτόν Hermann: εἰ μὴ αὐτῶν τῷ βουλ. ἐκεῖνος . . . αὐτόν Reiske: εἰ μὴ αὐτοῦ τῷ βουλ. ἐκεῖνος . . . αὐτόν Krauss, Dittmar. Whether **1608** had τ[ο or τ[ωι and αυ[τον or αυ[των is uncertain; but it apparently agreed with E in reading ἐκεῖνος (though εκεινοι[ς is just possible), and certainly differed from all the MSS. and editors in having αὐτούς instead of αὐτοῦ—a novelty which seems to be erroneous.

134. εμελλεν [ω]φελησειν: ὠφελήσει MSS.

136. αρα: om. MSS.

138. For the critical mark cf. int. p. 90.

154–7. Fr. 10 resembles Fr. 7. ii in colour, but does not occur in the text of the missing portion of that column.

159. The supposed low stop after ν might be the lower of two dots marking a change of speaker, in which case καιτο[ι is not improbable.

162–5. This fragment is very likely to be placed above Fr. 9, but there is no actual join.

1609. Philosophical Work (Eudorus?). Metrological Fragment.

8 × 10·2 cm. Second century.

The recto of this papyrus contains 13 nearly complete lines from the middle of a column of a lost philosophical work, with a few letters from the preceding and following columns. It is written in a clear compact semiuncial hand of the second century, which somewhat resembles that of **410** (Part iii, Plate iv) and is not later than the reign of Marcus Aurelius, more probably belonging to the reign of Trajan or Hadrian. A stroke in the middle of l. 12 indicates the beginning of a new section. The subject under discussion is εἴδωλα in mirrors, and the author, who alludes in l. 13 to his commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato, and objects in ll. 16 sqq. to the views of Democritus, Epicurus, and Empedocles, evidently belonged to the Academic school. The first commentator

on Plato, was according to Proclus, *In Tim.* p. 24, Crantor of Soli in Cilicia, whose discussion of the *Timaeus* is mentioned several times by Plutarch in his *De animae procreatione.* But since Crantor was a contemporary of Epicurus and died before him, he is unsuitable as the author of the papyrus, in which Epicurus is ranked with Democritus and Empedocles. Another philosopher of the Academic school, also mentioned by Plutarch, *op. cit.*, in connexion with the *Timaeus*, is Eudorus of Alexandria, who flourished about 25 B.C. and is generally thought to have written a commentary on that dialogue, besides an encyclopaedic work upon philosophy in general and a treatise on Aristotle's *Categories.* The encyclopaedic work, of which a few fragments survive, is described by Stobaeus, *Ecl.* ii. 46 as Εὐδώρου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως Ἀκαδημικοῦ φιλοσόφου διαίρεσις τοῦ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγου, βιβλίον ἀξιόκτητον ἐν ᾧ πᾶσαν ἐπεξελήλυθε προβληματικῶς τὴν ἐπιστήμην. It was used extensively by Arius Didymus of Alexandria, a Stoic philosopher with eclectic tendencies, and seems to have been a work of some importance. The account of it given by Zeller, *Gesch. d. griech. Philos.* i. 612, who considers that it collected the answers of the chief writers on the main problems of philosophy, is quite in harmony with the papyrus. A difficulty with regard to the attribution of **1609** to Eudorus, who naturally wrote in Attic, arises from the occurrence of an Ionic form, περιεούσας, in l. 21. The context there, however, and the occurrence elsewhere of several non-Ionic forms (οὖν, τούτων, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) indicate that the author was in this case using Empedocles' language, though περιεούσας cannot itself have occurred in hexameters.

On the verso in a different and larger semiuncial hand, which is not earlier than A.D. 150 and may even be later than 200, are the ends of 11 lines from the middle of a column of metrological tables, similar to e.g. **9.** verso and **669.** Some abbreviations and the usual symbols for drachma (l. 31) and ½ (l. 36) occur. The amount lost at the beginnings of lines is uncertain, but seems to be considerable in most, if not all, cases, and not much can be gleaned from the fragment. As far as l. 37 it is concerned with liquid measures, especially in relation to the cyathus, weights being expressed in drachmae; the last 2½ lines deal with the mina and its subdivisions. The κόγχη, an uncommon measure, is mentioned in l. 30, with a novel weight assigned to it. Details are discussed in the commentary.

Recto.

Col. i. Col. ii. Col. iii.

δοκη δε εκει φα[ιν]ε̣σ̣θ̣αι ου
γαρ επ εκεινου του κατοπτρου
οραται αλλ η ανακλασις επι

τον ορωντα\ περι μεν ουν
. . . τουτων εν τοις εις τον Τι
]π̣ο μαιον ει̣[ρ]ηται ου δει δε ει
]ν̣[ο]υν δωλον τοιουτον ακουειν οι . .
]ν̣ταυ ον το κατα Δημοκριτον η Επι τ[
]μειν κουρον η ως Εμπεδοκλης [
]. ι̣ν απορροας φαιη αν απι̣ε̣ναι τ[
]τ̣ιν απο εκαστου των κ̣[α]τ̣οπτρι ι̣[
ι̣ει . ζομενων και τ̣[. . . . . ι̣
]τ̣η περιεουσας [. . . . . .

'(if?) . . . and it (the image) seem to appear there. For it is not seen on that mirror, but the reflexion to the person seeing (is seen). This, however, has been discussed in my commentary on the Timaeus. An image ought not to be described as it is in the systems of Democritus or Epicurus, or as Empedocles would say that emanations come off from each of the objects shown in the mirror and . . . surviving . . .'

12. *ορωντα*: *ν* is practically certain and the very faint traces of the two preceding letters suit *ρω*, but joining *ο* is a descending stroke which is superfluous and seems to be merely a ligature. The stroke after *ορωντα* is a mark of punctuation.

13. *εις τον Τιμαιον*: i.e. in connexion with 71 b *οἷον ἐν κατόπτρῳ δεχομένῳ τύπους καὶ κατιδεῖν εἴδωλα παρέχοντι*: cf. 72 c.

14. *δει*: *ει* is very cramped, and the *ι* was probably omitted originally.

16. For Democritus' theory of *εἴδωλα* cf. Sext. Math. ix. 19 *Δημόκριτος δὲ εἰδωλά τινά φησιν ἐμπελάζειν ἀνθρώποις κτλ.* Epicurus' views are expressed in his *Epist.* 1 *ap.* Diog. Laert. x. 46 sqq.

18. For Empedocles' views on *ἀπορροαί* cf. Ritter and Preller, *Hist. phil. Graec.* §§ 166 h, 177 b.

19. *κ[α]τοπτριζομενων* is passive; cf. Plut. *De plac. philos.* 894 f *καταντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ κατοπτρίζοντος αὐτὴν* (sc. *ἡλιακὴν περιφεγγείαν*) *ἀστέρος*. The middle is the form commonly used.

21. *περιεουσας*: cf. int. p. 95.

Verso.

27]α̣ι̣[. . .] κοι[αθ( ) . .
] κοιαθ( ) ε̣ . [.]ν̣
]σ̣ον και η μεγ̣[α]
30 [λη] κονχη η μεγ̣[α]
[λη εχ?]ει S ιη̄ η δε τετ̣′
]ο̣ρ̣αι εισιν δ̣ε̣ ο̣β̄
] ο̣υν μεγα κοιαθ(ου?)
το δε] μικρον κοιαθου

35 ·] *ογδοον μερος*
ι′ *α* ⟆ *η μνα* ⟦. .⟧
[*εχει* ⟃ *ιη* ⟆] *ρμδ η δε* ⟃
[⟆ *η*?]*αι ϵ* [⟌ . . . . . .

27. *κοι*[*αθ*( ): *κύαθος* is thus misspelled throughout, a circumstance which raises a doubt whether some other forms are correct. The cyathus was regularly $\frac{1}{6}$ of a *κοτύλη*, but of varying weights and subdivisions.

29.]*σον*: or]*εον*.

29–31. The doubtful *γ* of *μεγ*[*α*]*λη* might be *ν* in both l. 29 and l. 30, bu in neither place is *μει*⟦*κρα* admissible. The restoration *η μεν κογχη η μεγ*[*α*]*λη εχ*]*ει* would suit ll. 34–5, where *ογδοον μερος* might follow immediately after *κοιαθου*, but ll. 31–2 do not seem to be concerned with the *μικρὰ κόγχη*, and, since the break along the left side is practically vertical, it would be necessary to suppose that the beginning of l. 31 projected by several letters beyond ll. 30 and 35, while it is very difficult to restore the other lines, especially ll. 32–4, on the hypothesis of a short lacuna or no lacuna at all at the beginnings. The *κόγχη* occurs together with *κόγχη χηραμίς* as a medicinal measure in Hippocrates (Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.* i. 75–6), and is equated by Hesychius and Photius to the *χήμη*, which is treated variously as $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{10}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{5}$ of a cyathus. In the *Cleopatrae tabula* (Hultsch, i. 235; cf. 256) the *μεγάλη κόγχη* is equated to the *ὀξύβαφον* and contains $1\frac{1}{2}$ cyathi, weighing 15 drachmae, while the *ἐλάττων κόγχη* contains $\frac{1}{2}$ cyathus, weighing 5 dr. The papyrus evidently gives the weight of the *μεγάλη κόγχη* as 18 dr.: the initial lacuna in l. 31 may well have contained a statement of the relation of this *κόγχη* to a cyathus, which presumably stood in the ratio of 1 : $1\frac{1}{2}$ to it, especially as a cyathus of 12 drachmae is indicated by ll. 35–6; cf. n.

31. *εχ*]*ει*: or *αγ*]*ει* or *ποι*]*ει* or *εσ*]*τι*.

31–2. *τετ′* is presumably *τετ*(*αρτη*), but there is room for a letter between *ϵ* and the vertical stroke which is supposed to represent the second *τ*. *τετάρτη* is not known as a liquid measure, but *τέταρτον μέρος* or *τεταρτημόριον κοτύλης* occurs in Hippocrates (Hultsch, i. 75[3]), and *τέταρτον* is common in the sense of $\frac{1}{4}$ *ξέστης* or *quartarius*, i. e. $\frac{1}{2}$ *κοτύλη* or 3 cyathi. The connexion of l. 32 with the preceding line is obscure. Only *εισιν* is certain.]*ορα*ι suggests *αμφ*]*ορα*ι, but *ἀμφορεύς* is the regular Greek form: *δρα*]*χμαι* is inadmissible. *δ* of *δε* is fairly certain (no figure in the thousands or hundreds will suit), but the following letter, if *ϵ*, is very cramped. *δ′*, i. e. *δ*(*ραχμαί*), could be read; but in l. 31 the ordinary symbol for drachmae occurs and in l. 36, where the figures seem to refer to drachmae, the preceding abbreviation was different. The figure *οβ*(?) probably refers to drachmae, and perhaps gives the weight of a *κοτύλη*; cf. l. 31.

33–6. If the genitive *κ*⟨*υ*⟩*αθου* in l. 34 is right, these lines are clearly concerned with a subdivision of the cyathus, the smaller measure being apparently $\frac{1}{8}$ of it and weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmae, which is in accordance with the weight ascribed to a *μεγάλη κόγχη* in l. 31, if the cyathus in **1609** is, as usual (cf. ll. 29–31, n.), $\frac{2}{3}$ of a *μεγ. κόγχη*. The smallest measures for liquids were the *χήμη*, *κύγχη* (*ἐλάττων*), *κοχλιάριον*, *μυστρίον* or *λίστριον*, *μύστρον*, and *κάρυον*, but since the measure in question is neuter, the first two need not be discussed. The *κοχλιάριον* is sometimes, e. g. in the *Cleop. tab.*, treated as weighing 1 drachma, i. e. $\frac{1}{10}$ of a cyathus there, but $\frac{1}{12}$ of the cyathus in **1609**; elsewhere (e. g. Hultsch, i. 238. 7) it weighs 3 *γράμματα*, i. e. 2 drachmae. The terms *μέγα* and *μικρόν* do not occur in connexion with it, but something like *κοχλιαριον*] *ουν μεγα κοιαθ*(*ου*) [*εκτον* (or *τεταρτον*, if it weighed twice the *μικρόν*) *μερος το δε*] *μικρον κοιαθου* [—] *ογδοον μερος* can be restored in ll. 33–5, though how the

lacunae in ll. 35–6 were filled is in any case obscure. μύστρον (Hultsch, ii. 198–9) is somewhat less suitable than κοχλιάριον. The μέγα μύστρον has sometimes 2, sometimes 3 cyathi, but elsewhere is $\frac{1}{16}$ or $\frac{1}{18}$ κοτύλη i. e. $\frac{3}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ cyathus, while the μικρὸν μύστρον is $\frac{1}{22}$ or $\frac{1}{24}$ κοτύλη, i. e. $\frac{3}{11}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ cyathus, which is not very close to $\frac{1}{8}$ cyathus. The μυστρίον or λίστριον, which is rarely mentioned, is the same as the μικρὸν μύστρον, and unlikely to be distinguished as μέγα and μικρόν: but two kinds of κάρυα are known, the βασιλικόν, which weighed 4 drachmae in the *Cleop. tab.*, but elsewhere 7 drachmae (Hultsch, i. 243. 8), and the Ποντικόν, which weighed 1 drachma (Hultsch, i. 243. 9), so that καρυον] is as good as κοχλιαριον] in l. 33. οὖν is not very satisfactory, and the ο is uncertain; but to κα]ρυ⟨ο⟩ν there is the objection that the tail of a ρ ought to have been visible. In the absence of any known measure of which the smaller size was $\frac{1}{8}$ cyathus and weighed $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmae, the name to which μεγα and μικρον refer and even the supposed connexion between ll. 34–6 remain doubtful. The stroke before the figures in l. 36 is smaller than that after τετ in l. 31 and may belong to a letter (e. g. θ or μ) above the line.

36–8. Cf. the *Cleop. tab.* (Hultsch, i. 234) ἡ Πτολεμαϊκὴ μνᾶ ἔχει ο(ὐ)γ(γίας) ιη, (δραχμὰς) ρμδ . . . ἡ οὐγγία ἔχει δραχμὰς η.

1610. EPHORUS, xii (or xi).

Frs. 12 + 13 15·2 × 9·1 cm. Late second or early third century. Plate III (Frs. 1, 4–6, 15).

These 60 fragments (originally about 70) of a lost historical work were found with **1611**, **1619**, &c.; cf. **1619**. int. They are mostly quite small, the longest containing less than 20 complete lines; but owing to frequent correspondences with Diodorus xi. 59 sqq. a large amount of restoration is possible, and about 100 lines in all are intelligible. In at least 16 cases the context of the fragments can be established, and in spite of their unpromising appearance they constitute a valuable find, especially since they deal with events in the Pentecontaëtia, which are for the most part outside the scope of Herodotus' history, and are only briefly sketched by Thucydides.

The handwriting is a handsome upright uncial approximating towards the biblical type, like **1234**, **1365**, and **1606**, but more calligraphic than the first two. **1012** and **1611** are also written in similar hands, but smaller. The date of the papyrus is not later than the early part of the third century and may go back to the latter part of the second, being approximately A.D. 200. There are no lection-marks except the common angular signs for filling up short lines, paragraphi, and high stops. Pauses are sometimes also indicated by blank spaces. The only correction is the deletion of the iota adscript of απεθνησκον in l. 104: elsewhere (ll. 105 and 198, but not in l. 60?) iota adscript was generally written, and, so far as can be judged, the scribe was more careful than the average. The lines were short, ranging from 12–17 letters and usually consisting of 14 or 15. The height of the columns is uncertain. All the fragments come or may come

from the middles of columns, except where it is otherwise stated. There is no external evidence to show their order, and the chronology of the twenty years following the battle of Plataea is in many points uncertain. The arrangement of Frs. 1–16 in the text is based on the order of the corresponding passages in Diodorus, and admits of little doubt. That Frs. 1–5 preceded 6 is clear from the reference to a change of subject in l. 37.

Of the three groups into which Frs. 1–16 fall the first, containing Frs. 1–5 (ll. 1–35; cf. ll. 36–7), is concerned with Themistocles. The most intelligible of them is Fr. 3, which comes from an estimate of his character and agrees very closely with a passage in Diod. xi. 59, no fewer than 13 consecutive words being identical; cf. p. 102. In Frs. 2 and 4+5 the division of lines is uncertain, and the resemblances to Diodorus are less marked, especially in the second half of Frs. 4+5, which does not correspond at all; but the points of agreement with Diodorus (cf. ll. 15–17 and 18 sqq., nn.) are sufficient to show that these fragments refer to other parts of the same chapter as Fr. 3, and are to be placed Fr. 2 shortly before Fr. 3, and Frs. 4+5 almost immediately after it. The small Frs. 26 and 38 also may belong to the character of Themistocles; cf. ll. 192–4 and 237–9, nn. Fr. 1, in which Themistocles is mentioned in l. 7, presents greater difficulties, since not only are the ends of lines missing, but no direct parallelism to Diodorus is traceable. Probably ll. 7 sqq. refer to the reception of Themistocles by Xerxes at the Persian court, which in Diodorus precedes the character of Themistocles, and the allusion in l. 8 to the statements of οἱ μέν is to be connected with the ancient discrepancies among historians as to both the reigning king (Artaxerxes according to Thucydides and Charon, Xerxes according to Ephorus, Dinon, and others), and the circumstances attending Themistocles' arrival; cf. ll. 7–12, n. That our author, like Diodorus but unlike Plutarch, favoured views opposed to that of Thucydides is clear from his general support of Diodorus, especially with regard to the accession of Artaxerxes (Frs. 15–16); but the influence of Thucydides' language is apparent in ll. 11–12 and evident later in Fr. 6. It is also possible that Fr. 31 is to be connected with Thucydides' and Diodorus' accounts of the presents of land made by the Persian king to Themistocles (ll. 213–14, n.), and Frs. 18 and 41 with Diodorus' account of the adventures of Themistocles in Persia. Fr. 41 in that case comes shortly before Fr. 1 (ll. 246–8, n.), while Fr. 18, if the context has been rightly caught (ll. 140–5, n.), may be placed between Frs. 1 and 2, preceding Fr. 31, if that fragment too refers to Themistocles.

The second group, consisting of Frs. 6–14, is concerned with Cimon's operations in the Aegean and Southern Mediterranean against the Persians, which are summarized by Thuc. i. 98–100 and more fully treated by Diodorus and Plutarch.

The end of a digression (i. e. the excursus upon the career of Themistocles) is announced in ll. 36–7, and in l. 37 a new section begins, just as in Diodorus, with the departure of the Greek fleet from Byzantium. This town had evidently already passed out of the possession of Pausanias according to our author, as is also implied by Diodorus and Plutarch, but not by Thucydides, whose indefiniteness as to the date of Pausanias' expulsion (i. 131), coupled with a statement in Justin ix. 1 that Pausanias held the city for seven years, has led to a controversy whether the transference of Byzantium to the Athenians took place in 476 or 470 B. C.; cf. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 96[1]. **1610** supports the earlier date. Our author's account of the capture of Eion on the Strymon is clearly borrowed with hardly any variation from Thucydides, Herodotus' story of the heroic defence of the Persian governor being ignored. Diodorus here adds a sentence about the Athenian projects, which is probably his own invention (cf. p. 103); but his description of the capture of Eion is apart from some unnecessary verbiage equally brief, being somewhat closer to our author than to Thucydides and having the same general construction of the sentence (ll. 37–46, n.). Plutarch's account, based on Herodotus, is much longer.

The next event recorded is the capture of Scyros (l. 46), which is briefly mentioned by Thucydides and Diodorus. Our author, however, seems to have, like Plutarch, devoted much more space to this episode, which led to one of Cimon's most popular exploits, the recovery of the bones of Theseus. After l. 46 Fr. 6 breaks off; but it is practically certain that Fr. 7, which mentions 'king Lyco[medes]', is from an account of the Theseus story introduced, as by Plutarch, in connexion with Cimon's capture of Scyros (ll. 49–51, n.), and probably Fr. 35, which mentions the Pelasgians, is to be placed between Frs. 7 and 8. It is significant that Diodorus' reference to the Pelasgians at Scyros is not only the sole mention of them in Book xi, but is also, except the mention of Byzantium, the one detail in his account of the operations at Eion and Scyros which is not ultimately traceable to Thucydides.

After the capture of Scyros Thuc. i. 98. 3–4 proceeds to describe a war with Carystus in Euboea and the revolt of Naxos before coming to the twofold battle of the Eurymedon by sea and land (i. 100. 1). Diodorus on the other hand, ignoring the first two events, but mentioning Cimon's return to Athens in quest of reinforcements, narrates the operations in Caria which led up to a naval battle off the coast of Cyprus on the same day as the land-battle of the Eurymedon. The inherent improbability of Diodorus' account of the double victory, especially on account of the distance of Cyprus from the Eurymedon and the night-attack, which is a favourite stratagem in Diodorus' battles, has been generally recognized and ascribed to his use of Ephorus; cf. e. g. Busolt, iii. 146[5]. Our author's

account evidently agreed closely with that of Diodorus, but probably narrated some events omitted by him; cf. Fr. 39 for a possible reference to the Euboean war. Fr. 8 is with the exception of a couple of words and a difference of order identical with a passage in Diodorus' description of the Carian operations, while Frs. 9 + 10. i + 53, which narrate the sea-fight off Cyprus, are also couched in very similar language. The numbers of the ships on both sides taking part in the naval engagement agree exactly with the figures of Diodorus, the figure of the Persian ships being practically in accordance with that ascribed to Ephorus by Plutarch (350 Ephorus; 340 **1610** and Diodorus; Phanodemus' figure, 600, is an obvious exaggeration); but the number of ships captured by Cimon is stated to have been 100, as in the metrical inscription which is quoted (no doubt from Ephorus) by Diodorus and is perhaps represented by Fr. 48 (cf. p. 102), and in Lycurgus and Aristodemus, whereas Diodorus himself gives the number as 'more than 100', being perhaps influenced by the different figure mentioned by Thucydides (ll. 62–76, n.). A detail omitted by Diodorus, the capture of a Persian admiral, is recorded in ll. 75 sqq., and the remains of Fr. 10. ii do not clearly correspond to any passage in Diodorus near this point, being too slight for certain reconstruction (cf. ll. 77–8, n. for a suggestion). Probably they belong to the early part of the description of the land-battle of the Eurymedon, and are to be placed not long before Fr. 11, which records the killing of the Persian general of the land-forces, Pherendates, in language practically identical with that of Diodorus. This coincidence is of great importance for deciding the question of the authorship of **1610**, for from Plutarch it is known that Pherendates' name occurred in Ephorus, from whom Diodorus no doubt obtained it; cf. p. 106. Frs. 12 + 13 continue the account of the land-battle, and since they constitute the longest connected piece, afford the best material for a comparison between our author and Diodorus. The general resemblance between them is very marked, ll. 94–101 presenting only trifling variants (cf. pp. 103–4); in ll. 101–12 **1610** gives the more precise details about the destruction of the Persians, while Diodorus enlarges upon the absence of the moon and its effects; cf. p. 124. The small Fr. 14 probably came immediately after Frs. 12 + 13 (l. 114 can even belong to ll. 112 or 113), and describes one of Cimon's tactics in the land-battle in terms similar to but not identical with those of Diodorus. Concerning the date of the battle of the Eurymedon, which has been ascribed to various years between 470 and 465 B. C. (autumn of 468 Busolt), the papyrus gives no new information beyond its general support of Diodorus, who assigns the engagement to 470, but is very confused throughout the Pentecontaëtia in adapting his authority, Ephorus, to his own chronological system (cf. p. 110). It is noteworthy that **1610** agrees with Diodorus and Frontinus as to the locality of the two battles, while

Polyaenus, who has been sometimes supposed to represent Ephorus on this point more exactly than Diodorus (Busolt, *l. c.*), inverts the scene, ascribing the land-battle to Cyprus, the sea-fight to the Eurymedon (ll. 62–76, n.). The battle of the Eurymedon tended in ancient times to become confused with Cimon's later operations at Cyprus in connexion with the Egyptian expedition, and all details of later historians concerning it which are inconsistent with the statements of Thucydides are usually rejected. The small Fr. 48, if it belongs to the inscription about Cimon's victories which is quoted by Diodorus, is to be placed after Fr. 14 (ll. 267–9, n.), and Fr. 28 also perhaps refers to the land-battle of the Eurymedon, coming shortly before Fr. 11 (ll. 200–2, n.).

After the battle of the Eurymedon Diodorus (xi. 63–8) proceeds to narrate first the revolt of the Helots and Messenians from Sparta, secondly the war between Argos and Mycenae, and then turns to Sicilian affairs before reverting to Persian. The corresponding portion of **1610** is missing, unless Fr. 43 refers to the revolt of the Helots (ll. 252–4, n.), and Fr. 41 to the Argive-Mycenean war (ll. 246–8, n.).

The third section of the papyrus consists of Frs. 15 and 16, which both refer to Persian affairs. Fr. 16, which relates to the plot of Artabanus to kill Xerxes and seize the throne, is almost verbally identical with Diodorus. The context of Fr. 15, which mentions Artaxerxes, is not quite certain owing to the incompleteness of the lines ; but most probably this fragment too is concerned with the plot of Artabanus, and immediately preceded Fr. 16, affording apparent points of contact with both Diodorus and Justin (ll. 119 sqq., n.).

With regard to Frs. 17–62, Fr. 53 has been assigned to ll. 67–9 (p. 101), and the most likely positions for Frs. 26 (p. 99), 35 (p. 100), and 48 (p. 102) have been indicated, while suggestions have also been made for the possible context of Frs. 18 (p. 99), 28 (p. 102), 31 (p. 99), 38 (p. 99), 39 (p. 101), 41 (p. 99), and 43 (p. 102). Fr. 17 seems to belong to a geographical description of some place in connexion with a battle, being comparable e.g. to Diodorus' description of Plataea, but referring to a different place (ll. 134–9, n.). The remaining fragments contain hardly any complete words, and no more instances of a clear correspondence with Diodorus have been detected.

The relation of our author to Diodorus will be made clearer by the following table of agreements and contrasts.

(1) *Exact correspondences of* **1610** *with Diodorus.* ll. 18–22 (ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠτιμασμένον τὴν δὲ πόλιν διὰ τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις) ; 30–1 (χαλεπωτάτην . . . πρὸς ἐκεῖνον) ; 56–61 (παραθαλαττίων . . . πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦσαν ἀπῳκισμέναι παραχρῆμα συν[έπεισε, with a slight alteration in the order ; *v. inf.*) ; 63–9 (τὸ]ν τ[ῶν Περσῶν στόλο]ν περὶ [τὴν Κύπρον] . . . . [διακοσί]αις περ[τήκοντα π]ρ[ὸς]

τρια[κοσίας κ]αὶ τετταρ[άκοντα] with slight variations in the order; *v. inf.*); 84–8 *(τὸν μὲ]ν στρατηγὸν . . . [Φερενδάτη]ν ἀδελ[φιδοῦν . . . τοῦ βασ[ιλέως ἐν τῇ] σκηνῇ)*; 94–8 *(ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου τὴν . . . τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς τὰς ναῦς)*; 267–9 (perhaps from a metrical inscription of 8 lines quoted by Diodorus; cf. p. 102).

(2) *Inexact correspondences with Diodorus* (additions of Diodorus other than verbal changes are in round brackets).

Line.	**1610.**	Diodorus.
16–17	*τίς] δὲ τοσούτοι[ς διὰ τ]ῶν ἔργω[ν*	*τίς δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις . . . τοσούτοις*
22–5	*τῆς μεγίστης τιμῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιωθεῖσαν*	*ἐπαιρομένην*
27–9	*σο]φ[ωτάτην καὶ δικαι]οτά[την . . . . . .]τά[τ]η[ν] κ[αὶ*	*σοφωτάτην καὶ ἐπιεικεστάτην*
30	*[γενομένη]ν*	*γεγενημένην*
37	*. . .] παρεξ[έχ]ημεν*	*πεπλεονάκαμεν παρεκβάντες*
37–46	*Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος ἐκπλεύσαντες ἐκ Βυζαντίου μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων Ἠιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Περσῶν ἔχοντων εἷλον καὶ [Σκῦρο]ν, ἣν νῆσον . . .*	*Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι Κίμωνα τὸν Μ. (καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον παραδόντες ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Ἀσίας βοηθήσοντα μὲν ταῖς συμμαχούσαις πόλεσιν, ἐλευθερώσοντα δὲ τὰς Περσικαῖς ἔτι φρουραῖς κατεχομένας.) οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν στόλον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καὶ* (so Reiske; *καὶ ἐν* Βυζ. MSS.; *καὶ ἐκ* Βυζ. is suggested by the parallel in **1610**) *καταπλεύσας ἐπὶ πόλιν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἠιόνα, ταύτην μὲν Περσῶν κατεχόντων ἐχειρώσατο, Σκῦρον δὲ Πελασγῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ Δολόπων ἐξεπολιόρκησε καὶ κτίστην Ἀθηναῖον καταστήσας κατεκληρούχησε τὴν χώραν.*
58–60	*ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦσαν ἀπῳκισμέναι*	*ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλ. ἀπῳκ. ταύτας*
63–6	*τὸ]ν τ[ῶν Περσῶν στόλο]ν περὶ [τὴν Κύπρον συ]ντετά[χθαι]*	*τὸν στόλ. τῶν Π. διατρίβειν περὶ τὴν Κ.*
66–7	*διακοσί]αις πεν[τήκοντα]*	*διακ. καὶ πεντήκ. ναυσὶ*
69–75	*παραταχθείσας δὲ πολὺν χρόνον πολλὰς μὲν τῶν κινδυνευουσῶν βαρβαρικῶν νέων διέφθειρεν ἑκατὸν δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλε*	*γενομένου δ' ἀγῶνος ἰσχυροῦ (καὶ τῶν στόλων ἀμφοτέρων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων τὸ τελευταῖον ἐνίκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ) πολλὰς μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων ναῦς διέφθειραν, (πλείους) δὲ τῶν ἑκατὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι εἷλον*
85	*αὐτῶν*	*τῶν βαρβάρων (τὸν ἕτερον)*

93 ἐχθροὶ?] διετέλ[ουν ὄ]ντες	τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας(?)
94 [ὥσ]τε νομίζοντες	διὸ καὶ νομίσαντες
96 ἔφοδον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι	ἐπιφορὰν εἶναι
98–101 ἔφευγον ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι φιλίας	ὡς πρὸς φιλίας ἔφευγον
101–12 οὗ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ἐκεῖ φυλάκων ἀπέθνησκον ἐν τῇ νυκτί, πολλοὶ δὲ ζῶντες ἡλίσκοντο περιπίπτοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησιν διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὅπου τράποιντο καὶ τὸν [ἐ]ξ[αίφνης] αὐτοῖς ἐ[πιπεσόντα φόβ]ον	τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς (οὔσης ἀσελήνου καὶ σκοτεινῆς) συνέβαινε τὴν ἄγνοιαν πολὺ μᾶλλον αὔξεσθαι καὶ μηδένα τἀληθὲς δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. διὸ καὶ πολλοῦ φόνου γενομένου διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν τῶν βαρβάρων
114–18 restoration uncertain	Cf. ll. 114–16, n.
124–6 αὐτὸς κατα[σχεῖν τ]ὴν βασιλείαν [βουλόμ]ενος	ἔκρινεν ... τὴν βασ. εἰς ἑαυτὸν μεταστῆσαι
128–32 ἀνε]κοινοῦ[το τὴν . . . .] . ιν πρὸς [τὸν εὐνοῦχον] Μιθρι[δάτην κατα]κοιμι-[στὴν τοῦ βασιλέ]ως	ἀνακοινωσάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πρὸς Μ. τὸν εὐν. ὃς ἦν κατακοιμιστὴς τοῦ βασ.

(3) *Omissions in Diodorus.* ll. 7–14 (different accounts of Themistocles' reception by Xerxes); 15, 25–6, and 32–5 (sentences in the estimate of Themistocles); 47–51 and 228–30? (the episode of Cimon's recovery of the bones of Theseus); 57 (καλουμένων); 75–6 (capture of a Persian admiral); 87 (ὄντα); 119–22 and 125–7 (details of the plot of Artabanus). Besides these ll. 1–7, 52–5, 77–83, 111–13, and 134–9, all of which are incomplete and obscure, seem to belong to passages not corresponding to anything in Diodorus, as is also the case with many of the minor fragments.

Where **1610** and Diodorus agree as to the sense, but express themselves differently, sometimes one, sometimes the other is longer; but on the whole Diodorus in the chapters covered by **1610** is distinctly the shorter of the two, details and even whole episodes which occur in **1610** being absent in his work. We postpone the discussion of the few passages in which he is fuller than **1610**, until the question of the authorship of the papyrus has been decided (cf. p. 111); for the present it is sufficient to point out that none of Diodorus' additional sentences or phrases contains anything striking or implies any real divergence from **1610**, except perhaps in l. 74 (πλείους τῶν ἑκατόν for **1610**'s ἑκατόν with regard to the number of ships captured by Cimon off Cyprus). Beside the conspicuous points of agreement the differences between **1610** and Diodorus, apart from his omissions, in any case appear trivial.

The remarkably close resemblance between our author and Diodorus must

be explained in one of three ways. Either one of the two writers was copying the other, or they derived their common information from the same source, i. e. from the historian who is now always supposed to underlie Diodorus' account of the Pentecontaëtia, Ephorus. Between these alternatives the choice admits in our opinion of hardly any doubt. The agreements between **1610** and Diodorus, which sometimes amount to the identity of a whole sentence and extend over not only the narrative but moral reflexions upon the character of individuals, are too marked to be explained satisfactorily by the hypothesis of a common source; and there is no historian among Ephorus' contemporaries and successors who has any particular claim to be regarded as the author of **1610**. Theopompus, apart from the great antecedent improbability that he would slavishly copy Ephorus (or Ephorus him), dealt with the Pentecontaëtia in an excursus upon Athenian demagogues in Book x of the Φιλιππικά (Fr. 90 Grenfell-Hunt), whereas **1610** has all the appearance of belonging to a comprehensive history of Greece. The detailed description of the plot of Artabanus (Frs. 15–16), which is probably in part derived from Ctesias (ll. 119 sqq., n.), does not at all suggest an Ἀτθίς, and Phanodemus at any rate is excluded by his divergence from **1610** as to the size of the Persian fleet in the sea-fight off the Eurymedon or Cyprus (ll. 62–76, n.). Callisthenes—apart from the fact that his histories primarily dealt with the fourth century B.C.—is excluded by his disagreement with **1610** on the subject of the name of the Persian general of the land-forces in the battle of the Eurymedon (ll. 84–8, n.). Of the historians (other than Ephorus), who according to Plut. *Themist.* 27 (cf. ll. 7–12, n.) represented Themistocles as a suppliant to Xerxes, like **1610**, Dinon and Heraclides wrote histories of Persia, not of Greece, Clitarchus an account of Alexander's Asiatic campaigns. Cratippus, whose claims required to be considered in connexion with the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (**842**), wrote a continuation of Thucydides. **1610** might conceivably be the work of another historian of about the age of Diodorus, following Ephorus with equal fidelity; but it is much more likely that the agreements between **1610** and Diodorus are due to the circumstance that one work was the immediate authority for the other.

The hypothesis that **1610** is based upon Diodorus may safely be dismissed. The papyrus was written only about two centuries after him, and the view that it represents the work of a historian of the Roman period, who was copying Diodorus, is open to several objections. Of Diodorus himself there are no extant papyri and Plutarch is equally unrepresented. The circulation in Egypt of the works of the later Greek historians was evidently rather limited, and about A.D. 200 people still preferred the more famous writers (cf. p. 110). The partial survival of Diodorus, who is never cited by heathen writers, though the title of

his history was known to Pliny, is due to the circumstance that his work happened to suit the Christians (Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.* v. 664); and to suppose that he served as the main authority for another and still more elaborate history of Greece composed not later than A.D. 150 is to attribute to him an importance to which he has no claim. **12**, a historical composition of the Roman period in Egypt, illustrates the kind of synchronistic Graeco-Roman annals which were utilized by Diodorus (cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.* v. 665), but bears no resemblance to **1610**. A survey of the differences between our author's and Diodorus' accounts of the same events (cf. pp. 102–4) is distinctly unfavourable to the hypothesis that **1610** is the later of the two. Thus in narrating the capture of Scyros our author is much more detailed, describing incidents which are ignored by Thucydides and Diodorus, but not by Plutarch. The new details in **1610** concerning the sea and land battles near the Eurymedon, though perhaps of no great historical value, at any rate indicate a serious historian of a higher calibre and distinctly better informed than Diodorus. There is every reason to suppose that our author was earlier, not later, than Diodorus, and the way is now clear for a discussion of the remaining hypothesis, that Diodorus was copying our author, who is no other than Ephorus himself.

The identification of our author with Ephorus is supported by many considerations. (1) Ephorus was a well-known and popular writer, extensively used by writers of the Roman period, so that his works would be expected to turn up in Egypt.

(2) The most important argument of all is that **1610** coincides with Ephorus and Diodorus both as to the visit of Themistocles to Xerxes, not Artaxerxes (cf. p. 99), and the name of the Persian general Pherendates (ll. 84–8, n.), while **1610**'s and Diodorus' figure (340) of the ships in the Persian fleet in the sea-battle off Cyprus is practically identical with the figure (350) ascribed to Ephorus (ll. 62–76, n.). The slight difference may well be due either to a corruption in the MSS. of Plutarch (*ν* for *μ*), or to a rounding-off of Ephorus' figure by that writer. These three are the only extant pieces of direct evidence concerning Ephorus' narrative of the events covered by the papyrus, and the coincidence with regard to Pherendates, whose name is a certain restoration in l. 86, is particularly weighty.

(3) The close relationship between **1610** and Diodorus, though this resemblance often extends beyond the point which with the scanty available evidence could hitherto be proved as regards Ephorus and Diodorus, is in the main such as has been generally considered to exist between those two historians; cf. pp. 105 and 111–2 and Schwartz, *op. cit.* v. 679.

(4) The general relation of **1610** to Plutarch, who has been thought (e.g. by

Busolt) to have followed other historians, e.g. Theopompus, Heraclides, and Callisthenes, more than Ephorus in dealing with the Pentecontactia, is also quite in keeping with what would be expected to be found in Ephorus. Particular statements of Plutarch with regard to Ephorus are verified (all three pieces of evidence discussed in (2) are obtained from Plutarch); but as a rule Plutarch preferred a different authority, though his account of Cimon's recovery of the bones of Theseus may have been obtained from **1610** (ll. 49–51, n.).

(5) The traces of connexion between **1610** and (1) Justin (ll. 119 sqq., n.), who certainly used Ephorus, (2) Polyaenus, (3) Frontinus (ll. 62–76, n.), and (4) Aristodemus (ll. 7–12, 62–76, nn.), are such as would be expected to occur, if Ephorus is the author.

(6) The account of the capture of Eion in **1610** (ll. 37–46, n.) is borrowed straight from Thucydides, whom Ephorus is supposed to have used. Elsewhere he differs conspicuously from Thucydides, as was known, with regard to two incidents which occur in **1610**, the appeal of Themistocles to Xerxes and the sea-fight off Cyprus (ll. 7–12 and 62–76, nn.), an apparent indirect allusion being made to Thucydides' account of the former incident.

(7) The arrangement of the narrative in **1610**, in which events are evidently grouped not annalistically as in Thucydides, but rather according to subject, is in accordance with the definite statement of Diodorus v. 1 concerning the arrangement adopted by Ephorus (*κατὰ γένος*: cf. p. 110).

(8) The disposition of our author to digress and moralize, which is illustrated by his excursus upon Themistocles, is quite in harmony with Polybius' reference (xii. 28) to Ephorus' fondness for *παρεκβάσεις* and *γνωμολογίαι*.

(9) The interest shown by our author in antiquarian lore, exemplified by the excursus on Theseus (p. 100), accords very well with Ephorus' known interest in that subject (cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.* vi. 13).

(10) The prominence of the Athenians in **1610** is in keeping with the supposed sympathies of Ephorus (cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.* vi. 14), though these have been disputed (cf. Walker, *Hell. Oxy.* 107).

(11) The historical arguments are to some extent reinforced by linguistic evidence, for there is a general similarity of style between **1610** and the extant fragments of Ephorus. Actual quotations of his words are very few, but there are occasional agreements in them with **1610** in points of diction (cf. ll. 26, 94–9, 102–4, 114–16, nn.), though these are not very striking. The careful avoidance of hiatus (cf. ll. 59–60), the monotonous frequency of antitheses, and a decided tendency to verbosity, especially in the reflexions upon Themistocles, accord very fairly with the judgements of ancient critics upon Ephorus' style; cf. Cicero, *Hortens.* Fr. 12 *quid . . . Ephoro mitius inveniri potest?*; *Brut.* 204 *lenissimum*

Ephori ingenium; Dio Chrys. xviii, p. 283 Ἔφορος δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἱστορίαν παραδίδωσιν, τὸ δὲ ὕπτιον καὶ ἀνειμένον τῆς ἀπαγγελίας σοι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον. The digression on Themistocles, if, as is practically certain, the whole of Diod. xi. 58. 4–59 was taken with very little change from our author, contains somewhat more rhetoric than would be expected to appear in Ephorus, and is nearer to Frs. 217 and 283 (Grenfell-Hunt) of Theopompus, which also have a series of rhetorical questions, than to anything in Ephorus' extant fragments. But for reasons which have been given (p. 105) Theopompus is quite unsuitable as the author of **1610**, and in spite of the well-known saying of Isocrates about his two illustrious pupils that Ephorus required the spur, Theopompus the bit, the two disciples of that master probably had many rhetorical devices in common.

Our conclusion therefore is that at last there is a papyrus which, especially in view of its coincidences with fragments of Ephorus, and its close agreements with Diodorus, can be ascribed to Ephorus with overwhelming probability.

The books of Ephorus' Ἱστορίαι which dealt with the period round that which is covered by **1610** were x–xiii; cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.* vi. 5. Fr. 107 (Müller) from Book x is concerned with Miltiades at Paros and belongs to the interval between Marathon and Salamis. A fragment from Schol. Aristid. p. 515. 22 (Müller, FHG. iv. 642) refers to the fine of 50 talents imposed on Miltiades and paid by Cimon when a young man (Plut. *Cimon* 4), i. e. before the events recorded in **1610**. The scholiast gives as his source Ἔφορος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ, which is usually corrected to ἐνδεκάτῃ. There is also a difficulty about the number of the book in Eph. Fr. 109; for his discussion of various opinions upon the causes of the rise of the Nile is ascribed by most MSS. of Theo *Progymn.* to Book xi, but one MS. has ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ in the margin, and Joannes Lydus, in referring to the same discussion, attributes it τῇ πρώτῃ, which has been usually corrected, as in the other case, to ἐνδεκάτῃ. Müller accepts πέμπτῃ as right on the reasonable, and in our opinion sufficient ground that Book v was geographical and is known to have been concerned with Asia and Libya; but Schwartz (*l. c.*) accepts ἐνδεκάτῃ, suggesting (what does not seem very probable) that an excursus on Egypt may have occurred in connexion with the revolt of Inarus, which is narrated by Diodorus in the chapters immediately following those corresponding to Frs. 15–16 of **1610**. After Fr. 109 there is no fragment of Ephorus which can be assigned with certainty to a particular event and book until Fr. 126 from Book xvii is reached. This records the death of Alcibiades and corresponds to Diod. xiv. 11. Fr. 110, however, a mention of a Sicilian island Τυχία in Book xii, is doubtfully connected by Schwartz (*l. c.*) with the expulsion of Thrasybulus from Syracuse in about 466 B. C. (Diod. xi. 68), and Fr. 124, a mention of Ἔντελα in Sicily in Book xvi, is thought by him to refer probably

to the early history of Dionysius (cf. Diod. xiv. 9). It is therefore not clear to which book **1610** belonged; but evidently xi or xii is the most suitable.

The new discovery in any case adds fresh fuel to the controversy concerning the authorship of two other papyri from the same site, the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (**842**) and a fragment concerning the Orthagoridae in Sicyon (**1365**). In our first edition of **842** we discussed the claims of Ephorus, Theopompus, and Cratippus to be regarded as the author, and eventually decided doubtfully in favour of Theopompus, a hypothesis which was advocated by E. Meyer and found considerable favour in Germany, but very little in this country. The claims of Cratippus were formerly advocated by Walker (*Klio* viii. 356–71) and are still supported by the latest editor of the *Hell. Oxy.*, J. H. Lipsius. The case for Ephorus has been well stated by Judeich (*Rhein. Mus.* 1911. 94–139), and more fully by Walker (*Hell. Oxy.* 1912), whose able advocacy has gained many adherents. With regard to **1365** our view that Ephorus (or Aristotle?) might be the author has been disputed by M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis (*Atti Acc. Torino*, li. 290–305), on the ground that the oracle mentioned by Diodorus referred to Andreas himself, implying that he was to be the first tyrant, whereas **1365** states that Andreas' son Orthagoras was the first tyrant. This objection, however, does not seem to us insuperable, for Diodorus' words are *ὅτι Σικυωνίοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία ἑκατὸν ἔτη μαστιγονομήθεσθαι αὐτούς. ἐπερωτησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τίς ὁ ταῦτα ποιήσων πάλιν ἀπεκρίθη ᾧ ἂν καταπλεύσαντες πρώτῳ γεγενημένον υἱὸν ἀκούσωσιν . . .*, which points to the *υἱός* (Orthagoras) as the important person.

The authorship of **842** is too large a question to be adequately rediscussed here, but the main bearings of the new find upon the problem, assuming that we are right in attributing **1610** to Ephorus, may be indicated. Firstly, the agreements between **842** and Diodorus, which could only be explained by his direct or indirect use of the author of **842**, and which constituted the most solid argument in favour of the view that Ephorus was the writer in question (cf. Part v. 125–7; Walker, *op. cit.* 50 sqq.), are less marked indeed than the correspondences of **1610** with Diodorus in Frs. 3, 8–11, 16, but are on much the same level as those in Frs. 4–6, 12+13, 15. Secondly, the relation of **842** to Plutarch and Justin is similar to that of **1610** to those authors. In both papyri the connexion with Plutarch is slight, but their influence upon Justin is traceable. Thirdly, the scale of the history in the two papyri is not dissimilar, when allowances are made for the comparative paucity of evidence for the more ancient period. **1610**, though its account of the capture of Eion reproduces the brevity of Thucydides, not the details of Herodotus (cf. ll. 37–46, n.), was evidently on a large scale, being even more detailed than Diodorus, so far as can be judged. Hence the discovery of **1610** goes some way to remove the supposed difficulty (cf. Part v,

l. c., and in answer to it Walker, *op. cit.* 32 sqq.) that Ephorus' history was less detailed than **842**. Fourthly, while in **842** the narrative was arranged chronologically in the style of Thucydides, in **1610** the arrangement bears no sign of being annalistic, and was evidently to a large extent according to subject; cf. p. 107. Here **1610** rather damages the position of Judeich, who (*op. cit.* 110) minimized one of the chief difficulties in the attribution of **842** to Ephorus, the fact that according to Diodorus v. 1 Ephorus' history was arranged κατὰ γένος, and maintained that Ephorus did write more or less annalistically. Walker's position, on the other hand, is less affected, for he had acutely divined (*op. cit.* 30–1) from Diodorus' account of the Pentecontaëtia that Ephorus' account of it was arranged according to subject, not annalistically, just as in fact **1610** shows it to have been with regard to two of the three incidents selected by Walker as evidence (Themistocles in Persia, and Cimon's operations up to the battle of the Eurymedon). This divergence, however, between **1610** and **842** (which belongs to Book xviii, if it is by Ephorus) remains something of a difficulty in spite of Walker's arguments (*op. cit.* 32 sqq.) for the view that in the later books of Ephorus greater respect was paid to the annalistic method. Fifthly, speeches in the style of Thucydides do not occur in either papyrus, but each of them has at least one excursus (**842** on the Boeotian constitution, **1610** on Themistocles; that in **842**. x on the character of an individual is too incomplete to be at all intelligible). Lastly, there are rather more agreements in diction between **1610** and **842** (cf. 15–17, 56–61, 73–4, 94–9, 101, 104, 121, 123, nn.) than between **1610** and the extant fragments of Ephorus (cf. p. 107), which owing to the length of **842** is not surprising, and the general style of **842** is not unlike that of **1610**.

With regard to **1365**, the circumstance that the parallel account in a fragment of Diodorus breaks off just before the point at which the papyrus begins prevents us from knowing the extent of their resemblance; but they combine in most respects remarkably well. The fondness for the genitive absolute and the repetition of the article with an adjective placed after a substantive, which were noted (Part xi. 107) as characteristics of **1365**, do not appear in **1610**, but the general style is not at all dissimilar. The wide range of the library to which **1610** belonged and, to a less extent, that of the library containing **842** (**1365** was found with only a couple of Homeric fragments) render us unwilling to lay much stress on the circumstance that all three papyri, which are approximately contemporaneous, come from the same site. In about A. D. 200 copies of most of the Greek authors of the first rank and many of the second and third were probably still in circulation at Oxyrhynchus. But the historian who would be expected to come next in popularity to Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon

is Ephorus, not Theopompus, whose works had already begun to perish in Diodorus' time (Theop. Fr. 28 Grenfell-Hunt, *βύβλους ὀκτὼ πρὸς ταῖς πεντήκοντα ἐξ ὧν πέντε διαφωνοῦσιν*); and if, as we are rather disposed to infer from the joint connexion with Diodorus, **842**, **1365**, and **1610** are the work of one author, he is certainly Ephorus.

To summarize the chief points of value in **1610** from the point of view of our identification of its author with Ephorus, (1) the most important is that it enables us to realize for the first time at all adequately the debt of Diodorus, particularly in Book xi, to that author. That the younger historian was under great obligations to the older has long been supposed, but, since Diodorus also used various other authors, the extent and method of his use of Ephorus, whose name he rarely mentions, had nearly always to be guessed rather than proved. That he sometimes incorporated whole sentences or even chapters with little or no change, at other times merely paraphrased or abbreviated his main authority, compressing some details and omitting some episodes altogether, but adding, so far as **1610** goes (cf. pp. 102–4), hardly anything of his own, is not only new but very valuable information. Where Diodorus is perceptibly longer than or different from Ephorus in **1610**, the new matter is probably in the main an amplification introduced for the sake of variety (ll. 37–46, 101–10) or a mere rhetorical exaggeration (ll. 69–75), though in regard to the latter passage some of Diodorus' variations may be due to deference for Thucydides (ll. 62–76, n.). It is particularly instructive that Diodorus' account of the twofold battle of the Eurymedon, which is just one of the cases where his precise relation to Ephorus was most in doubt owing to the divergent evidence of Polyaenus (ll. 62–76, n.), proves to be on the whole a very faithful reproduction of the older historian, and that a digression such as that in Diod. xi. 58. 4–59 on Themistocles is now shown to have been borrowed almost verbally from Ephorus. Evidently Diodorus was a writer of very slight originality, and a future editor of Ephorus' fragments will be able to include most of Diod. xi with confidence. His debt to Ephorus in that book is almost as great as are his obligations to Agatharchides in iii. 12–48, where a comparison of Diodorus with the excerpts of Agatharchides *Περὶ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης* preserved by Photius shows that everything in Diodorus down to the most minute details is borrowed from the older writer. Theopompus on the other hand, so far as the Pentecontaëtia is concerned, does not seem to have been utilized to any serious extent by Diodorus. The effect of **1610** upon the criticism of other books of Diodorus, especially xii–xv, is also likely to be considerable, but the discussion of these falls outside our present scope. It is clear, however, that much of Diodorus' work, which could be ignored, so long as his statements were regarded as merely those of a writer of the Augustan

age, will henceforth have to be treated with the respect due to the celebrated fourth century B. C. historian whom he was to a large extent copying.

(2) There is now much more material for estimating the scale of Ephorus' history of the fifth century B. C. Diodorus seems to have incorporated most of the essential parts, but by no means all the details and digressions, and Ephorus, as is shown by the account of the land-battle of the Eurymedon and the plot of Artabanus, evidently wrote at very considerable length, though his account of the capture of Eion ignores the material available from Herodotus, and the sea-fight off Cyprus is described in a few lines. His system in dealing with the Pentecontaëtia was to group events by subjects, not by definite years, an arrangement which led Diodorus into great confusion about the chronology of this period. But in dealing with the fourth century B. C., which occupied the second half of Ephorus' ἱστορίαι, he may have employed a different method.

(3) With regard to the sources of Ephorus, **1610** exhibits one clear case of direct borrowing from Thucydides (ll. 37–46, n.), and an apparent reference to him in an allusion to authorities vaguely described as οἱ μέν (l. 8, n.); but in other respects **1610** comes into marked conflict with him; cf. p. 107. Herodotus is not utilized in connexion with the capture of Eion, and Frs. 15–16 do not display any verbal connexion with the Περσικά of Ctesias, though Diodorus' language in a passage in this context betrays a use of that author; cf. ll. 119 sqq., n. There is now more reason than ever to suppose that the metrical inscription upon Cimon's victories was quoted by Diodorus from Ephorus (ll. 267–9, n.).

(4) Of later writers, other than Diodorus, who dealt with the Pentecontaëtia, Plutarch kept Ephorus' history in view, but preferred to follow other authorities, while echoes of Ephorus are found in Justin, Aristodemus, Polyaenus, and Frontinus (p. 107).

(5) For Ephorus' style the evidence is still scanty, and it is difficult to judge it fairly from fragments so discontinuous and brief as those in **1610**. But it does not seem to have been much better than that of Diodorus, the leading characteristics of it being easiness, verbosity, and tameness, with a tendency to break into rhetoric (cf. pp. 107–8).

(6) The discovery of **1610** affects many points in the controversy concerning the authorship of **842**, and to a less extent that of **1365**. On the whole it rather supports the attribution of **842** to Ephorus, since it tends to remove the difficulty caused by the elaborate scale of that work, and reinforces the most solid argument for ascribing it to Ephorus, the evident traces of connexion between **842** and Diodorus. In the light of **1610** it is increasingly difficult to explain those agreements with Diodorus from the point of view that **842** is the work of Theopompus or Cratippus. On the other hand the resemblances between **1610**

and Diodorus often reach far beyond the point attained by **842**, and the principal obstacle to the attribution of **842** to Ephorus remains in a somewhat accentuated form, the strictly chronological system imitated from Thucydides, which is found in **842**, as contrasted with Ephorus' arrangement according to subject, which is well illustrated by **1610**. With regard to **1365** there is less evidence for the extent of its resemblance to Diodorus, but the hypothesis that it came from an early book of Ephorus still remains attractive.

Ephorus, in spite of his celebrity and wealth of new information not to be found in Herodotus, Thucydides, or Xenophon, was not a great historian, and to judge by **1610** it may be doubted whether in his treatment of the fifth century B. C., which brought him into frequent conflict with Thucydides, many of the novelties were of real historical value. The servility of Diodorus, who, as it now appears, followed Ephorus almost blindly through that period, and was practically incapable of original composition, has probably prevented us from losing very much when Books x–xv of the older historian perished. With his history of the fourth century B. C. the case is different. Here Ephorus is likely to have been as well informed as Xenophon, Theopompus, or any other, and if he was the author of the account of Agesilaus' and Conon's campaigns and the excursus on the Boeotian constitution in **842**, his merits were by no means inconsiderable. Even with regard to quite early Greek history he was sometimes, if **1365** is from his work, distinctly independent of Herodotus and rather valuable.

It is in any case satisfactory that with the recovery of these fragments of Ephorus' history of the Pentecontaëtia the 'higher criticism' of Diodorus not only can point henceforth to several substantial verifications of the methods of modern research in ancient history, but enters a new phase.

Fr. 1. Plate iii.

[. . . . .] . ạν ḳ[. . . .
[. . . . .]ι̣ ποτε τ . [. .
[. . . . .]τ̣ην τ̣[. . . .
[. . . . .]ν̣ι̣ . [. . ανα
γ̣[κ]ạιον [ε]σ̣τιν̣ [. . . . .
ει̣[ς] τ̣α τοτε π[ερι του
Θεμιστοκλεο̣υς λε
γουσι δ οι μεν ο̣[τι υπε
μνησεν αυτ̣[ον ων
περι τε της ν[αυμα
χιας και της γ̣[εφυρας

Fr. 2.

. . .]ων εσπ̣ο̣υ̣δ̣[ασε
τις?] δε τοσουτοι̣[ς δι
α? τ]ων εργω[ν . . . .

Fr. 3.

[.]ε . [. .]ω[. .] εκ[εινον
μεν υπο της πολε̣ως
ητιμασμενον τ[ην
δε πολιν δια τ[α]ς̣ ε
κεινου πραξ̣ε̣[ις] της
μεγιστης τιμης υπο

[προ]ηγγειλε· π[ερι δε
[τη]ς ναυμαχ[ιας . . .
[. .]. α[. . . . . .
των Ελληνων αξι
ωθεισαν· η μεγαλην
[ηγεμονι ?]αν οιον τ .

Frs. 4 + 5. Plate iii.

. . . . . σο]φ[ωτατην και
δικαι ?]τα[την . . .
. . . .]τα[τ]η[ν] | κ[αι
χαλεπ]ωτατ|ην [γενο
μενη]ν προς | εκε[ινον
οι δ υ]πολαμβανου[σιν
οτι ει]περ εβουλη[θη
εκ ? δο]υναι τη[ν ηγε
μονια ?]ν απα[. . . . .

Fr. 6. Plate iii.

ειρη[μεν . . . οθεν ?
παρεξ εβ]ημεν· Α[θη
ναιοι δ]ε Κ[ι]μωνος
του Μι[λ]τιαδου στρα
τηγου[ντ]ος εκπλευ
σαντες εκ Βυζαντι
ου μετα των συμμα
χων [Η]ονα την επι
Στρ[υμο]νι Περσων ε
χον[τω]ν ειλον και
[Σκυρο]ν· ην νησ[ο]ν

Fr. 7.

Col. i.

[. . . . . .]την
[. . . . . .]νειται
[. . . . . .]. ης· αυ
[του γαρ ? πρ]ος Λυκο
[μηδην τον β]ασιλεα

Col. ii.

. . .
[.]ο[
πρω[
μαν[
θησι[

Fr. 8.

παραθ]αλα[ττιων
καλο]υμενω[ν πολε
ων οσ]αι μεν εκ τ[ης
Ελλα]δος ησα[ν α
πω]κισμεναι π[αρα
]χρημ[α] συν[επεισε

Frs. 9 + 10 + 53.

Col. i.

[. . . . . Κιμων πυν
[θανομενος το]ν τ[ων
[Περσων στολο]ν περι
[την Κυπρον συ]ντετα
[χθαι διακοσι]αις πεν[
[τηκοντα π]ρ[ος] τρια[
[κοσιας κ]αι τετ|ταρ[α
[κοντα] παραταχ[θει

Col. ii.

Fr. 11.

[. . . . . τον με]ν
[στρατηγο]ν αυτων
[Φερενδατη]ν αδελ
[φιδουν οντ]α του βασ[ι
[λεως εν τηι] σκηνηι [

[σ]ας δε πολυν χρονο[ν
πολλας μεν των κ̣[ιν . . .
δυνευουσων βαρβα̣[ρι λη̣ι̣[
κ̣ων νεων διεφθε̣[ι λα . [
[ρ]εν· εκατον δ αυτοις και . [
[α]νδρασιν [ε]ιλε ζωγρη̣ πατ[
[σας τ]ον π̣[. . . .]ων τι̣ τ̣ω[
τα[
τω[

Frs. 12 + 13.

Col. i.

] . ε
]
] .

Col. ii.

[. . . . .]ε̣
[. .] δ̣ιετελ[ουν ο]ν̣τες·
[ωσ]τε νομιζοντες α
[πο της ηπειρ[ου] την
εφοδον αυτ̣[οις γεγ]ο
νεναι των π[ο]λ̣εμι
ων προς τα[ς] ν̣αυ[ς] ε̣
φευγον υπο[λ]αμβα
νοντες αυτοις ει[ν]αι
φιλιας ου δη π[ο]λλοι
μεν υπο των κατα
λειφθεντων εκει
φυλακων απεθνη[[ι]]
[σκον] εν τηι νυκτι
[πο]λ̣λ̣οι δε ζωντες η
λισκοντο π̣εριπιπτον
τες τοις Ε̣λ̣λ̣η̣|σιν | δια
την απορι̣[α]ν οπου
τ̣[ρ]απ[ο]ι̣[ντο] | και τον
[ε]ξ̣[αιφνης] | αυτοις ε̣
̣πιπεσοντα φοβ?]̣ον
[. . . . .]α̣τ̣α

Fr. 14.

] στρα[τιωτ?
] νυ[κτ?
αυ?]̣τοις πυρ[σον?
̣ηνα[
]̣ον . [

Fr. 15. Plate iii.

[. . . . . τ?]ους [
[. . . λογχ?]̣ο̣φ̣ο̣ρους ω̣[ν
[. . . . .]ων ετυγχα[
[νεν ο Α]ρταξερξης [
[αμα μ]̣εν αυτος κατα
[σχειν? τ]̣ην βασιλειαν
[βουλο?μ]ενος· αμα δε
[δεδιω?]̣ς μη πραγ
[μα

Fr. 16.

[. . . . . ανε]κ̣οι̣νου
[το? την . . .] . ιν προς
[τον ευνουχον] Μιθρι
δ̣ατην κατα κ̣ο̣ιμι
[στην του βασιλε]ως
. . . . .]ν

Fr. 17.

. . . . . δο ?]λιχου τ[.
. . .] . βραχυν τοπον [.
. . .]ν και του στρατ[.
. . . .] και μονοι των [.
. . . .] τ[ο]ποις π[. . . . .
. . . . . .]νον ε[. . . .

Fr. 18.

]με[
]ληλ[
]υ . [
α]δελ[φον ?
επι]θειν[αι ?
] . δε [
end of col. ?

Fr. 19.

. [
δ[
ει . [
επ[
σε[
τ[

Fr. 20.

Col. i.

]αλ
] . μη
]υν
. . .

Col. ii.

. [
σ[
π[
τ . [
πε . [

Fr. 21.

]α
]νους
]σθε
] αλλα
] . α .

Fr. 22.

]ν
]α
]δαι
]αν
]

Fr. 23 (tops of cols. ?).

Col. i.

]νοι
]εσ
]ν

Col. ii.

· [
παλιν α[
εκα[
κτ[

Fr. 24.

Col. i.

]· ω
]τυγ
[χαν—] ιδι
]ιου
] .

Col. ii.

[
μ[
α[
α[
δ[

Fr. 25.

]σα .
]νουκ
] .
]ασι
] . ο

Fr. 26.

Ελ]ησιν
]λυσαι τας [
εκεινο ?]υ πραξε[ις
]ι . [

Fr. 27.

]εκι . . [
]ν ορανν [
]σηι δ[
]αλα[

Fr. 28.

]σιν[
] Αθηναι[ο
]νοντο κ[
]τ[

Fr. 29.

]ωκ[.
] . τα
]πο
]νι

Fr. 30.

]ατ[
]νταν[
π]αρα τω[ν
] παρα[

Fr. 31.

[. . .]ωστ[
τ]ην εδωκ[ε
χωραν τε[
. [

Fr. 32.

]ναι[
]ου πρ[
]ιδαν [
]φοιν[

Fr. 33.

]ν[
]ασ[
]στων [
]αθη[

Fr. 34.

] . ῃ[
225]μ[
]α[
] . [

Fr. 35 (top).

] Πελασγους [
]ν τινα· [
230 κα]ταφυγ[

Fr. 36.

231] και τ . [
]λιστα [
]ισε[

Fr. 37.

]εν[
235] . νι[
]νη[
end of col.?

Fr. 38.

237 ξαν [τις δε? —
τεν[—μιαι?
[π]ρᾳξ[ει?

Fr. 39.

240] . . [
]ντων ελ
]οι αν αλλη[

Fr. 40.

]τ[
]τομ[
245]νεισ[

Fr. 41.

246]αι[
]υμμ[
]εκατ[

Fr. 42.

]ως δ[ε?
250]τατην
]α

Fr. 43.

252 ξᾳ[
βα[
τη[

Fr. 44.

255] ενεργ[ε
]τεροι[
]ασυγ[

Fr. 45.

] . [
] . [.] π[
260]ντε . [

Fr. 46.

261]τᾳ[
]τελ[
]υτ[

Fr. 47.

]ακο[
265]νι τ[
]η[

Fr. 48.

267 να?]υς ελ[ον?
] ανδ[ρων?
με]γ[α?

Fr. 49.

270]υντων
κ]αι των
] .

Fr. 50.

]αι . [
]ωτ[
275]τη[

Fr. 51.

276 η[
π[
φη[

Fr. 52.

ρ[
280 τ[
το[

Fr. 53.

282]ρ[
αι τετ[
. . [

Fr. 54.

285]λα[
]υτο[

Fr. 55.

287]αγ[
] κατα[

Fr. 56.

]ν
290]γων

Fr. 57.

291]υφ[
]οι[

Fr. 58.

293]αι[
]ου[

Fr. 59.

295] . α[
]ντ[

Fr. 60.

297 ο[
τ[

Fr. 61.

δ[
300 ε[

Fr. 62.

301]
]τως

Fr. 1. (2) . . . ποτὲ . . . (5) ἀνα]γ[κ]αίων [ἐ]στιν [. . . . .] εἱ[ς] τὰ τότε π[ερὶ τοῦ] Θεμιστοκλέο[υς. λέγουσι δ' οἱ μὲν ὅ]τι ὑπε[μνησεν αὐτ]ὸν ὧν[περί τε τῆς ν]αυμαχίας καὶ τῆς γ[εφύρας προ]ήγγειλε· π[ερὶ δὲ τῆ]ς ναυμαχ[ίας . . .

'. . . it is necessary to (return?) to what (happened) then concerning Themistocles. Some say that he reminded him of his warnings about both the sea-fight and the bridge; but with regard to the sea-fight . . .'

2. ι or η can be read.

4–5. ανα]γ[κ]αιον: the supposed γ could be ρ, but hardly τ, υ, or φ, which would make

the beginning of l. 5 project, and λ could be read in place of *α*. *εναγ*]*γ*[*ε*]*λιον* (cf. l. 12) is excluded by the fact that only the plural of this word occurs in Attic. Bury suggests *επα*]*νιε*[*ναι ανα*]*γ*[*κ*]*αιον* [*ε*]*στιν* [*αυθις*, referring to a previous account of the flight of Themistocles (Frs. 1–5 are themselves part of a digression anticipating the chronological order of events; cf. l. 37 and p. 99). The letter following *νι* can be *ε*, but the hiatus *-ναι ανα-* is an objection to this restoration; cf. p. 107.

6. *ει*[*ς*] *τα*: of the letter following *ε* all that survives is the tip of a stroke which might be vertical or horizontal. *εντα* or *επτα* could be read, but suggests no suitable word.

7–12. Cf. p. 99, Thuc. i. 137 *ἐσπέμπει γράμματα πρὸς βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ἥκω παρὰ σέ, ὃς κακὰ μὲν πλεῖστα Ἑλλήνων εἴργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἠμυνόμην, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθά, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἡ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγίγνετο. καί μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται* (*γράψας* **τήν τε ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν**), *καὶ νῦν ἔχων . . .*, Plut. *Themist.* 27 *Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἱστοροῦσι τεθνηκότος Ξέρξου πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν·* **Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ Δείνων καὶ Κλείταρχος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην.** *τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συνταττόμενος.* The following account of the reception of Themistocles by Artabanus the *χιλίαρχος*, who is identical with the Artabanus to whom Frs. 15–16 refer (cf. ll. 119 sqq., n.), is stated by Plutarch to be derived from Phanias, with a few extra details obtained from Eratosthenes *περὶ πλούτου*, and Phanias too, as is observed by Busolt, iii. 132², seems to have represented Xerxes as still reigning at the time of Themistocles' arrival; cf. l. 8, n. Plutarch does not state his source for the two next chapters (28–9), which relate in detail the reception of Themistocles by the Persian king and the honours paid to him, being partly derived from Thucydides, partly from some one else (Heraclides? Busolt, iii. 129¹). A different version of the letter recorded by Thucydides is put into Themistocles' mouth, *ἥκω σοι, βασιλεῦ, Θεμιστοκλῆς . . . ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν ὀφείλουσι Πέρσαι κακά, πλείω δὲ ἀγαθὰ κωλύσαντι τὴν δίωξιν, ὅτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενομένης παρέσχε τὰ οἴκοι σωζόμενα χαρίσασθαί τι καὶ ὑμῖν.* Diodorus xi. 56. 8 shows more interest in the stratagem by which Lysithides introduced Themistocles to Xerxes (cf. ll. 246–8, n.) than in Themistocles' defence of himself before the king, which is described quite briefly *κἀκείνου δόντος τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ λόγον καὶ μαθόντος ὡς οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν.* Aristodemus 10 *καὶ* **ὑπέμνησεν αὐτὸν** (sc. Artaxerxes) *τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἃς ἐδόκει κατατεθεῖσθαι εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ξέρξην, λέγων καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῷ γεγενῆσθαι αἴτιος* [*ἐνδε*]*ίξα*[*ς λύσειν τοὺς Ἕλλ*]*ηνας τὸ ζεῦγμα,* though primarily based on Thucydides, shows traces of a knowledge of Ephorus; cf. ll. 62–76, n. Nepos (*Themist.* 9) follows Thucydides, *scio plerosque ita scripsisse, Themistoclem Xerxe regnante in Asiam transisse. Sed ego potissimum Thucydidi credo . . .*, quoting the letter to Artaxerxes *Idem multo plura bona feci postquam in tuto ipse et ille in periculo esse coepit. Nam cum in Asiam reverti vellet, proelio apud Salamina facto, litteris cum certiorem feci id agi ut pons quem in Hellesponto fecerat dissolveretur atque ab hostibus circumiretur: quo nuntio ille periculo est liberatus.* The earliest authority for the view that Xerxes, not Artaxerxes, was the king in question is Aeschines Socraticus quoted by Aristid. ii. 293 (cf. **1608**). The date of Themistocles' arrival in Persia continues to be a matter of dispute: Busolt, iii. 132², sides with Thucydides, and assigns that event to a period shortly after the spring of 464.

8. *οι μεν*: cf. the previous n. Thucydides is probably included, for the expressions in ll. 11–12 seem to be derived from him, though *αυτ*[*ον*] is apparently Xerxes, not Artaxerxes, cf. the next n. Dinon may also be meant, for he was approximately Ephorus' contemporary. Clitarchus and Heraclides, who were younger, can hardly have been referred to by Ephorus, nor can Phanias (cf. the previous n.), who was the disciple of Aristotle.

8–9. *υπε]μνησεν αυτ̣ον*: we prefer *υπε]μνησεν* to *ανε]μνησεν* on account of the parallel in Aristodemus 10 cited above. His work, the date of which is unknown, is based mainly on Herodotus and Thucydides, but its frequent resemblances to Diodorus, especially as to the causes of the Peloponnesian War, suggest the use of Ephorus, and *ὑπέμνησεν αὐτόν* looks like a reminiscence of the present passage. *αυτ̣ον*, however, here is, we think, Xerxes not Artaxerxes, because (1) there is no mention of the king's father (cf. Thuc. *l. c.*); (2) the accession of Artaxerxes is described by Diodorus in a much later chapter, to which Frs. 15–16 refer; (3) Ephorus is definitely known to have agreed with the majority of historians that Xerxes was the reigning king. The difficulty is that owing to the loss of the second part of the sentence from l. 14 onwards it is not clear whether our author accepted the opinion of *οἱ μέν* or not. If he rejected it, then *αυτ̣ον* might be Artaxerxes and Fr. 1 would be more suitably placed after Fr. 16, with a backward reference in ll. 5–7 to the account of Themistocles in Persia which must in any case have preceded Frs. 2–5. This would have the advantage of making the suggested connexion between ll. 7–12 and both Thucydides and Aristodemus closer; but we are unwilling to separate Fr. 1 so widely from Frs. 2–5, seeing that Themistocles is the subject of them all. To retain Fr. 1 where it is, and make *αυτ̣ον* Artaxerxes, with a possible forward reference in ll. 5–7 to a subsequent mention of Artaxerxes, is a possible compromise; but with *[προ]ήγγειλε* the most natural dative to be supplied is *αὐτῷ*, i.e. Xerxes, not *τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ* which would be required by the identification of *αυτ̣ον* with Artaxerxes.

10. *ι̣[αυμα]χιας*: cf. l. 13, Hdt. viii. 75, Thuc. *l. c.*, Diod. xi. 17, Plut. *Themist.* 12 and 28.

11. *της γ̣[εφυρας*: cf. Hdt. viii. 110 *τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν*, Thuc. *l. c.*, Diod. xi 19. 5 *τὸν παιδαγωγὸν τῶν ἰδίων υἱῶν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην δηλώσοντα διότι μέλλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ζεῦγμα λύειν τὴν γέφυραν*, and the next n. Diodorus' employment of the singular (Hdt. and Thuc. have the plural) confirms *γ̣[εφυρας* here; but the stroke following *της* might be round just as well as straight.

12. *[προ]ηγγειλε*: cf. Thuc. *l. c.* *προάγγελσιν*. *[εξ]ηγγειλε* would also be suitable; cf. Plut. *Them.* 12 *ὃν ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην κρύφα κελεύσας λέγειν ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς αἱρούμενος τὰ βασιλέως ἐξαγγέλλει πρῶτος αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποδιδράσκοντας.*

Fr. 2. *τίς δὲ . . .]ων ἐσπούδ̣[ασε; τίς?] δὲ τοσούτοι̣[ς διὰ? τ]ῶν ἔργω̣[ν . . .*

15–17. Cf. p. 99 and Diod. xi. 59. 2 *τίς δὲ πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας δύναμιν ἀναστάτῳ τῇ πόλει παραταχθεὶς ἐνίκησε; τίς δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν πατρίδα δυνατὴν κατεσκεύασε* **τοσούτοις** (*τούτοις* MSS.; *τοιούτοις* or *τοσούτοις* Reiske). *]ων* can be a participle or the end of a phrase like *διὰ τῶν ἔργων*. With *ἐσπούδ̣[ασε* cf. **842**. xiv. 7 *ἐσπούδαζον ἐκπολεμῶσαι.*

Frs. 3–5. *. . . ἐκ[εῖνον] μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλε[ως] ἠτιμασμένον, τ[ὴν] δὲ πόλιν διὰ τ[ὰ]ς ἐκείνου πράξε̣ις τῆς μεγίστης τιμῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιωθεῖσαν, ἣ μεγάλην [ἡγεμονί?]αν οἷον . . . σο̣φ̣ωτάτην καὶ δικαι̣ο̣τά̣[την . . . . . .]τό̣[τ]η̣[ν] κ[αὶ χαλεπ]ωτάτην [γενομένη]ν πρὸς ἐκε[ῖνον. οἱ δ' ὑ]πολαμβάνου[σιν ὅτι εἴ]περ ἐβουλή̣[θη ἐκ? δο]ῦναι τὴ̣[ν ἡγεμονία?]ν . . .*

'. . . that while he was dishonoured by the city, the city owing to his achievements was held by the Greeks to be worthy of the highest honour, which (city founded) . . . a great empire . . . (the city) which was the wisest and justest became the most . . . and severe to him. Some suppose that, even if he wished to surrender the hegemony, . . .'

18 sqq. Cf. p. 99 and Diod. xi. 59. 3 *διόπερ ὅταν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ θεωρήσωμεν καὶ σκοποῦντες τὰ κατὰ μέρος εὕρωμεν ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠτιμασμένον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διὰ τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις ἐπαιρομένην, εἰκότως τὴν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι τῶν ἁπασῶν πόλεων σοφωτάτην καὶ*

ἐπιεικεστάτην χαλεπωτάτην πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὑρίσκομεν γεγενημένην. ευ[ρ]ω[μεν] is inadmissible in l. 18.

21–2. τ[α]ς εκεινου πραξεις: cf. ll. 193–4, where the phrase perhaps recurs, suggesting that Fr. 26 belongs to this context.

22–5. Diodorus has only one word here in place of seven: cf. p. 103.

26. [ηγεμονι]αν: cf. Ephorus Fr. 67 τελευτήσαντος γὰρ ἐκείνου (Epaminondas) τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβαλεῖν εὐθὺς τοὺς Θηβαίους. οιονει is inadmissible.

27–31. Cf. Diod. *l. c.* The division of lines in Frs. 4+5 is uncertain, but there is hardly any doubt that Fr. 5, containing the supposed ends of ll. 29–31, is rightly joined to the other. Bury suggests αλλως before σο]φ[ωτα]την and μα[ταιο]τα[τ]η[ν] before κ[αι. Cf. l. 32, n.

30–1. [γενο[μενη]ν: [γεγενη[μενη]ν (cf. Diod. *l. c.*) seems too long for the lacuna.

32. υ]πολαμβανου[σιν: cf. ll. 94–9, n. The adopted restoration of ll. 32–5 was proposed by Bury. εβουλη[θη εκδο]υναι produces a hiatus, which is unsatisfactory (cf. ll. 4–5, n.); but προδο]υναι seems too long, if χαλεπ]ωτατην is the beginning of l. 30. With the division χα[λεπ]ωτατην, however, προ[δο]υναι could be read; cf. ll. 27–31, n. The division χαλε[π]ωτατην would create a great difficulty in l. 31, for there would not be room for [νη]ν or [σα]ν and a participle is wanted there, the ν being nearly certain.

34. The vestige of a letter before ναι suggests γ, τ, or υ, so that τ]ην αιτι[αν is unsatisfactory, though the doubtful η can be ι. απα[σαν is possible, but with another word than ηγεμονια]ν, for which cf. l. 26, n.

Fr. 6. . . . εἰρη[μέν . . ., ὅθεν] παρεξ[έβ]ημεν. Ἀ[θη]ναῖοι [δ]ὲ Κ[ί]μωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦ[ντ]ος ἐκπλεύσαντες ἐκ Βυζαντίου μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων [Ἠι]όνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρ[υμό]νι Περσῶν ἐχόν[τω]ν εἷλον καὶ [Σκῦρο]ν, ἣν νῆσ[ο]ν . . .

'. . . from which we digressed. The Athenians under the command of Cimon son of Miltiades sailed out from Byzantium with their allies, and captured Eion on the Strymon, which was in the possession of the Persians, and Scyros, which island . . .'

36–7. Probably τοις]| ειρη[μενοις or των]| ειρη[μενων. For οθεν] cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* i. 5. 1 ὅθεν παρεξέβημεν, and for παρεξ[εβ]ημεν Diod. xi. 59. 4 περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους ἀρετῆς εἰ καὶ πεπλεονάκαμεν **παρεκβάντες**, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ ἄξιον . . . The digression evidently contained the estimate of Themistocles (Frs. 2–5); but the fibres of the verso of Fr. 6 suggest that it belongs to a different column. Bury suggests something like επανιωμεν δε τοσουτων περι του Θεμιστοκλεους] ειρη[μενων: cf. ll. 4–5, n.

37–46. Cf. pp. 99–100, Hdt. vii. 107, where the heroic defence of Eion by Βόγης is described in some detail, Thuc. i. 98 (the source of the present passage; cf. p. 107) πρῶτον μὲν Ἠιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων πολιορκίᾳ εἷλον καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος. ἔπειτα Σκῦρον τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ νῆσον, ἣν ᾤκουν Δόλοπες, ἠνδραπόδισαν καὶ ᾤκισαν αὐτοί, and Diod. xi. 60. 1–2 Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου κτλ. (cited on p. 103), which is longer than **1610**, but adds nothing new about the capture of Eion, and bears distinct traces of derivation from **1610**, especially the mentions of Byzantium and Pelasgi (cf. p. 100). Plutarch's account (*Cimon* 7) Κίμων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων ἤδη προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ στρατηγὸς εἰς Θρᾴκην ἔπλευσε, πυνθανόμενος Περσῶν ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους καὶ συγγενεῖς βασιλέως Ἠιόνα πόλιν παρὰ τῷ Στρυμόνι κειμένην ποταμῷ κατέχοντας ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον Ἕλλησι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς μαχῇ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐνίκησε καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπὲρ Στρυμόνα Θρᾷκας κτλ., which proceeds to narrate the story of Βόγης (here called Βούτης) told by Hdt., is based on other historians than Ephorus.

46. [Σκυρο]ν: cf. Thuc. and Diod. *ll. cc.* Our author was much more detailed; cf. Fr. 7.

Fr. 7. 49–51. Cf. p. 100 and Plut. *Cimon* 8, where the story of Cimon's recovery of the bones of Theseus is narrated in detail, being possibly based on Ephorus, especially the mention of Lycomedes, *πυνθανόμενος δὲ τὸν παλαιὸν Θησέα τὸν Αἰγέως φυγόντα μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Σκῦρον, αὐτοῦ δ' ἀποθανόντα δόλῳ διὰ φόβον ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσπούδασε τὸν τάφον ἀνευρεῖν.* *αν[του δε πρ]ος* would make l. 50 rather short, but perhaps *αν[τους* (sc. Theseus) *δ(ε) . . . μεν]ος* should be read. Fr. 35, which mentions the Pelasgians and a *κα]ταφυγ[ή?*, is probably to be connected with the episode; cf. p. 100.

55. *θησι[* : the last letter might be *γ*, *η*, *κ*, or *π*, but not *ε*, so that a reference to Theseus (cf. the previous n.) is inadmissible.

Fr. 8. *τῶν παραθ]αλα[ττίων καλο]υμένω[ν πόλεων ὅσ]αι μὲν ἐκ τ[ῆς Ἑλλά]δος ἦσα[ν ἀπῳ]κισμέναι π[αρα]χρῆμα συνέπεισε . . .*

'. . . of the so-called coast cities those which had been founded from Greece he at once persuaded (to revolt).'

56–61. The division of lines in this fragment is practically certain. Cf. p. 101 and Diod. xi. 60. 4 *πλεύσας οὖν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στόλου πρὸς τὴν Καρίαν,* **τῶν παραθαλαττίων πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπῳκισμέναι,** *ταύτας* **παραχρῆμα συνέπεισεν** *ἀποστῆναι τῶν Περσῶν, ὅσαι δ' ὑπῆρχον δίγλωττοι καὶ φρουρὰς ἔχουσαι Περσικὰς βίαν προσάγων ἐπολιόρκει,* which only differs by the omission of *καλουμένων*, the changed position of *ἦσαν*, and the insertion of *ταύτας*. Plutarch's account (*Cimon* 12) is differently worded, *τὰ μὲν ἐπόρθει καὶ κατεστρέφετο, τὰ δὲ ἀφίστη καὶ προσήγετο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὥστε τὴν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας Ἀσίαν ἄχρι Παμφυλίας παντάπασι Περσικῶν ὅπλων ἐρημῶσαι,* and proceeded to give fresh details omitted by Diodorus. With *παραθ]ιλα[ττίων* cf. **842.** xxi. 17 *Φρυγίας τῆς παρ[αθα]λαττιδίου,* and with *ἀπῳκισμέναι* Ephorus Fr. 30 a (FHG. iv. 642) from schol. Aristid. p. 11. 17 Dindorf *οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀποικίας καταλέγουσιν· εἰς Ἔφορον ἀποτείνεται ὃς περὶ τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας ἔγραψε* (sc. in Book iii).

Frs. 9+10+53. *. . . Κίμων πυνθανόμενος τὸ]ν τ[ῶν Περσῶν στόλο]ν περὶ [τὴν Κύπρον συ]νετά[χθαι, διακοσί]αις πεν[τήκοντα π]ρ[ὸς] τρια[κοσίας κ]αὶ τετταρ[άκοντα.] παραταχ[θείσ]ας δὲ πολὺν χρόνον πολλὰς μὲν τῶν κ[ιν]δυνευουσῶν βαρβα[ρι]κῶν νεῶν διέφθε[ιρ]εν, ἑκατὸν δ' αὐτοῖς [ἀ]νδράσιν [ε]ἷλε ζωγρή[σας τ]ὸν π[. . . . .]ων . . .*

'(Cimon attacked, perceiving) that the Persian fleet was drawn up off Cyprus, with two hundred and fifty ships against three hundred and forty. After they had opposed each other for a considerable time, he destroyed many of the barbarians' ships which ran into danger and captured a hundred of them with the crews, taking alive . . .'

62–76. Cf. p. 101 and Diod. xi. 60. 5–6 *οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὸ μὲν πεζὸν στράτευμα δι' ἑαυτῶν κατεσκεύασαν, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἤθροισαν ἔκ τε Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας· ἐστρατήγει δὲ τῶν Περσικῶν δυνάμεων Τιθραύστης, υἱὸς ὢν Ξέρξου νόθος. Κίμων δὲ πυνθανόμενος* **τὸν στόλον τῶν Περσῶν** *διατρίβειν* **περὶ τὴν Κύπρον** *καὶ πλεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐναυμάχησε* **διακοσίαις** *καὶ* **πεντήκοντα** *ναυσὶ* **πρὸς τριακοσίας καὶ τετταράκοντα.** *γενομένου δ' ἀγῶνος ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τῶν στόλων ἀμφοτέρων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων τὸ τελευταῖον ἐνίκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ* **πολλὰς μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων ναῦς διέφθειραν,** *πλείους δὲ* **τῶν ἑκατὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλον.** *τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν νεῶν καταφυγουσῶν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπεχώρησαν, αἱ δὲ νῆες κεναὶ τῶν βοηθούντων οὖσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγενήθησαν ὑποχείριοι.* In xi. 62. 1 Cimon's total captures in connexion with this battle are estimated at 340 triremes, i.e. the whole Persian fleet, Diodorus forgetting there to allow for the ships sunk. Plutarch's account (*Cimon* 12), as usual, is mainly different, *Ἔφορος μὲν οὖν Τιθραύστην φησὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν νεῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ* **Φερενδάτην** (cf. l. 86), *Καλλισθένης δ' Ἀριομάνδην τὸν Γωβρύου κυριώτατον ὄντα τῆς δυνάμεως παρὰ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ταῖς ναυσὶ παρορμεῖν, οὐκ ὄντα μάχεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι πρόθυμον, ἀλλὰ προσδεχόμενον ὀγδοήκοντα ναῦς Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ Κύπρου προσπλεούσας. ταύτας φθῆναι βουλόμενος ὁ Κίμων ἀνήχθη, βιάζεσθαι παρε-*

σκευασμένος, ἂν ἑκόντες μὴ ναυμαχῶσιν. οἱ δὲ πρῶτον μέν, ὡς μὴ βιασθεῖεν, εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν εἰσωρμίσαντο, προσφερομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντεξέπλευσαν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φανόδημος, ἑξακοσίαις ναυσίν, ὡς δ' Ἔφορος, **πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις.** *ἔργον δὲ κατὰ γοῦν τὴν θάλατταν οὐδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπράχθη τῆς δυνάμεως ἄξιον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποστρέφοντες ἐξέπιπτον οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ κατέφευγον εἰς τὸ πεζὸν ἐγγὺς παρατεταγμένον, οἱ δὲ καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο μετὰ τῶν νεῶν. ᾧ καὶ δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι πάμπολλαί τινες αἱ πεπληρωμέναι τοῖς βαρβάροις νῆες ἦσαν, ὅτε πολλῶν μέν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκφυγουσῶν, πολλῶν δὲ συντριβεισῶν, ὅμως αἰχμαλώτους διακοσίας ἔλαβον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.* The figure 200 also occurs in the brief account of Thucydides i. 100 *ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ποταμῷ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ ἐνίκων τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀμφότερα Ἀθηναῖοι Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ εἷλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέφθειραν τὰς πάσας ἐς διακοσίας*, and in the confused account of Nepos (*Cimon* 2. 2), who erroneously makes Mycale the scene of the sea-fight, *Idem iterum apud Mycalen Cypriorum et Phoenicum ducentarium navium classem devictam cepit.* The concluding sentence of Thucydides is obscurely worded, and it has been proposed to insert a numeral (*π*) after *Φοινίκων*; cf. Busolt, iii. 146[3]. Plutarch evidently knew Ephorus' account, but followed a historian (apparently Callisthenes), who agreed in the main with Thucydides as to the locality of the sea-battle and the number of the Persian losses. Thucydides' account, supplemented by Plutarch's, is usually preferred to any other (cf. Busolt, iii. 146[5]); but besides Diodorus Aristodemus 11. 2 *Κίμωνος δὲ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος ἀνέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Παμφυλίαν κατὰ τὸν λεγόμενον Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμὸν καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν Φοίνιξι καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο,* **ἑκατόν τε ναῦς ἑλόντες αὐτάνδρους** *ἐπεζομάχησαν*, was evidently influenced by Ephorus, and Frontinus, *Strateg.* iv. 7. 45, agrees with Diodorus both as to the locality of the sea-fight (*apud insulam Cypron*) and the stratagem of Cimon at the land-battle of the Eurymedon (cf. Diod. xi. 61. 1–2 and ll. 77–8, n.). Polyaenus, *Strateg.* i. 34. 1, inverts the scene of the sea-fight (off the Eurymedon) and the stratagem (Cyprus), and Klussmann and Duncker (cf. Busolt, *l. c.*) held that this represented Ephorus' description more closely than Diodorus' account—a view which is disposed of by **1610**. Some echoes of Ephorus, however, seem to survive in Polyaenus' account; cf. **καὶ πολλὰ** *σκάφη* **βαρβαρικὰ ἑλών** with ll. 72–3 and *τὸν στόλον* **ὡς φίλιον** *ὑποδέχονται* with ll. 98–101. Justin gives no details, but the figure 100 for the ships captured by Cimon is also found in Lycurg. *c. Leocr.* 72, and is supported by the metrical inscription quoted by Diodorus xi. 62. 3, no doubt from Ephorus, even if Fr. 48 does not actually belong to it (cf. ll. 267–9, n.). Diodorus' exaggeration of it *πλείους τῶν ἑκατόν* (*l. c.*) is either merely rhetorical (cf. p. 111) or made out of deference to the figure 200 in Thucydides. In favour of the second explanation is the circumstance that his insertion of *τὸ τελευταῖον ἐνίκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* suggests the influence of Thucydides (*καὶ ἐνίκων . . . Ἀθηναῖοι*). Whether Diodorus had any other authority for his statement *τῶν στόλων ἀμφοτέρων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων* than Ephorus' reference to *πολὺν χρόνον* may also be doubted. Aristodemus, *l. c.*, speaks of *λαμπρὰ ἔργα*, but in reference to the Greeks only, and Plutarch, *l. c.*, definitely denies that the Persian fleet made any serious resistance, in contrast to the subsequent *κρατερὰ μάχη* on land, of which his rhetorical description has been ascribed to Theopompus; cf. Busolt, iii. 146[5].

62–3. For *πυνθανομενος* cf. Diod. *l. c.* The verb may well have been *αντεξεπλευσε* (cf. Plut. *l. c.*).

66–9. The figures are exactly reproduced by Diodorus, *l. c.* No importance is to be attached to the variation in Plutarch's figure (350 instead of 340) of the number of the Persian fleet according to Ephorus; cf. p. 106. Frs. 9, 10. i and 53 do not actually touch each other, but the combination is practically certain; cf. ll. 282–4, n. Of the third *τ* in *τετταρ[ακοντα* a bit of the cross-bar is on Fr. 9 and the tail of the vertical stroke on Fr. 10.

73–4. *διεφθε[ιρ]εν*: this word occurs twice in **842** (xiv. 9 and xix. 20).

76. *π[. . . . .]ων*: *Π[ερσικ]ων* (sc. *δυνάμεων*) (or *π[ολεμι]ων*), followed by *ηγεμονα* (i.e.

Tithraustes; cf. Diod. *l. c.*) can be restored, but the article is expected. π is nearly certain, γε[, γο[, or γω[being the only alternatives and less satisfactory readings. *τω[ν Περσ]ων* is therefore inadmissible; but *τον Π[. . . . .]ων[δην*, i.e. a subordinate Persian admiral, or conceivably Γω[*βρναν*] (cf. Callisthenes *ap.* Plut. *l. c.*) *ων* (i.e. *ὧν*) is possible.

77–8. The height of the columns in **1610** is unknown, but probably about 40 lines are lost between ll. 76 and 77, so that the remains of Fr. 10. ii would be expected to be parallel to some part of Diod. xi. 61. 1–2, which narrates the beginning of the land-battle of the Eurymedon. Perhaps ll. 77–8 are to be connected with *ἐνεβίβασεν εἰς τὰς αἰχμαλωτίδας ναῦς τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς ἀρίστους, δοὺς τιάρας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν περιθεὶς Περσικήν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσπλέοντες ἅρτι τοῦ στόλου ταῖς Περσικαῖς ναυσὶ καὶ παρασκευαῖς ψευσθέντες ὑπέλαβον τὰς ἰδίας τριήρεις εἶναι. διόπερ οὗτοι μὲν προσεδέξαντο* κτλ. (cf. ll. 200–2, n.). *ιδοντες . . . και την αλ]λην [κατασκευην υπε]λαμ[βανον* (cf. l. 99) is possible, the letter after λα beginning with a vertical stroke (not β). Another passage which might be connected with ll. 77–8 is xi. 61. 4 *τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνας οὐχ ὑπελάμβανον ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ δυνάμεως τὸ σύνολον μηδ' ἔχειν* κτλ. But Ελ]λην[ας ουχ υπε]λαμ[βανον makes l. 77 too short, and in the absence of any correspondence in ch. 61 with ll. 79–83 the remains of this column may well have been concerned with details omitted by Diodorus; cf. p. 112.

Fr. 11. *τὸν με]ν [στρατηγὸ]ν αὐτῶν [Φερενδάτη]ν ἀδελ[φιδοῦν ὄντ]α τοῦ βασ[ιλέως ἐν τῇ] σκηνῇ [*
'. . . (they killed) their general Pherendates, who was the king's nephew, in his tent.'

84–8. Cf. p. 101 and Diod. xi. 61. 3 *καὶ τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν ἕτερον* **Φερενδάτην, ἀδελφιδοῦν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ** *καταλαβόντες ἐφόνευσαν*, which hardly differs. The two last words or an equivalent must have followed l. 82. Pherendates was mentioned by Ephorus; cf. Plut. *Cimon* 12 quoted in ll. 62–76, n. and p. 106.

Frs. 12 + 13. *. . . διετέλ]ουν ὄ]ντες. [ὥσ]τε νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρ[ου] τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτ[οῖ]ς γεγ]ονέναι τῶν π[ο]λεμίων πρὸς τὰ[ς] ναῦ[ς] ἔφευγον, ὑπο[λ]αμβάνοντες αὐτοῖς εἶ[ν]αι φιλίας· οὗ δὴ π[ο]λλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ἐκεῖ φυλάκων ἀπέθνη[σκον] ἐν τῇ νυκτί, πολλοὶ δὲ ζῶντες ἡλίσκοντο περιπίπτοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησιν διὰ τὴν ἀπορί[α]ν ὅπου τ[ρ]άπ[ο]ι[ντο], καὶ τὸν [ἐ]ξ[αίφνης] αὐτοῖς ἐ[πιπεσόντα φόβ?]ον.*

'. . . Hence, thinking that their enemies' attack was from the land, they fled to the ships, expecting these to be on their own side. There many of them were killed in the night by the guards who had been left behind on the spot, while many were taken alive, falling into the hands of the Greeks through their ignorance which way to turn and the fear which had suddenly overtaken them.'

93. *διετελ[ουν ο]ντες*: cf. **1365.** 16 *δ[ιετέλ]εσε διαιτώμενος καὶ παιδευόμενος οὕτως. οἱ Πισιδες ἐχθροὶ* may have preceded, the sentence probably corresponding to *καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας* in Diodorus; cf. the next n.

94 sqq. Cf. pp. 101–2 and Diod. xi. 61. 4–6 *τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνας οὐχ ὑπελάμβανον ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ δυνάμεως τὸ σύνολον, μηδ' ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πεζὴν στρατιὰν πεπεισμένοι· τοὺς δὲ Πισίδας ὄντας ὁμόρους καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας ὑπελάμβανον ἥκειν μετὰ δυνάμεως* (ὑπελ. . . . δυν. del. Madvig). *διὸ καὶ* **νομίσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου τὴν ἐπιφορὰν εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς τὰς ναῦς** *ὡς πρὸς* **φιλίας ἔφευγον.** *τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς οὔσης ἀσελήνου καὶ σκοτεινῆς συνέβαινε τὴν ἄγνοιαν πολὺ μᾶλλον αὔξεσθαι καὶ μηδένα τἀληθὲς δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. διὸ καὶ πολλοῦ φόνου γενομένου διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν τῶν βαρβάρων ὁ μὲν Κίμων* κτλ. (cf. ll. 114–16, n.). Plutarch's account (*Cimon* 13, from Theopompus?; cf. ll. 62–76, n.) is quite different, *τῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἐπικαταβάντων πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἐφαίνετο τῷ Κίμωνι τὸ βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν καὶ κεκμηκότας ἀκμῆσι καὶ πολλαπλασίοις ἐπάγειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅμως δὲ ῥώμῃ καὶ φρονήματι τοῦ κρατεῖν ὁρῶν ἐπηρμένους καὶ προθύμους ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀπεβίβαζε τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἔτι θερμοὺς τῷ κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀγῶνι μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ ὁρμοῦ προσφερομένους. ὑποστάντων δὲ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ δεξαμένων οὐκ ἀγεννῶς κρατερὰ μάχη συνέστη· καὶ*

τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πρῶτοι καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ἔπεσον. πολλῷ δ' ἀγῶνι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔκτεινον, εἶτα ἤρουν αὐτούς τε καὶ σκηνὰς παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων γεμούσας. Diodorus' reference to the absence of the moon seems to be his own invention, since there is no indication in ll. 105–7 of anything corresponding to it and no further reference to the darkness is in fact expected after l. 104. Possibly, however, the absence of the moon may have been mentioned earlier in Ephorus' account.

94–9. *νομίζοντες . . . υπο[λ]αμβανοντες*: cf. *νομίζομεν ὑπολαμβάνοντες* in Ephorus Fr. 2, and, for *ὑπολαμβάνειν*, ll. 32, 77–8, n., and **842**. vi. 10, xi. 17, xiv. 11.

101. *φιλιας*: cf. **842**. xiv. 40 *φιλίως*, and Polyaen. *Strateg.* i. 34. 1, quoted in ll. 62–76, n.

102–4. *καταλειφθεντων . . . φυλακων*: cf. Ephorus Fr. 53 *φύλακας δὲ κατέλιπον.*

104. *απεθνη[σκον]*: cf. **842**. xx. 33 *συμμείξαντες ἀποθ[ν]ήσκουσιν.*

108. That the fragment containing *σι* and part of the *ν* of Ελλη|*σιν* and the ends of ll. 103–7 is rightly combined with the top of the *ν* admits of hardly any doubt.

111–12. The letter after *αυτοις* may be *σ*, and]*ων* may be read for]*ον*.

Fr. 14. . . . *στρα[τιωτ?—] νι[κτ?— αὐ]τοῖς πυρ[σὸν?—]ιηνα[. . .*

114–16. Cf. p. 101, Diod. *l. c.* *ὁ μὲν Κίμων προειρηκὼς τοῖς* **στρατιώταις** *πρὸς τὸν ἀρθησόμενον* **πυρσὸν** *συντρέχειν ἦρε πρὸς ταῖς ναυσὶ σύσσημον, εὐλαβούμενος μὴ διεσπαρμένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἁρπαγὴν ὁρμησάντων γένηταί τι παράλογον. πάντων δὲ πρὸς τὸν πυρσὸν ἀθροισθέντων καὶ παυσαμένων τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, τότε μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀπεχώρησαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ κτλ. πυρσεύειν* occurs in Ephorus Fr. 107. Fr. 48 not improbably came between Frs. 14 and 15; cf. ll. 267–9, n.

Frs. 15–16. *τ?]ούς [. . . λογχ?]οφόρους, ὧ[ν . . . . .]ων ἐτύγχα[νεν ὁ Ἀ]ρταξέρξης, [ἅμα μ]ὲν αὐτὸς κατα[σχεῖν? τ]ὴν βασιλείαν [βουλόμ?]ενος, ἅμα δὲ [δεδιὼ?]ς μὴ πραγ[μα . . .| ἀνε]κοινοῦ[το? τὴν . . .] . ιν πρὸς [τὸν εὐνοῦχον] Μιθρι[δάτην κατα]κ[ο]ιμι[στὴν τοῦ βασιλέ]ως.*

'. . . the spearmen, of whom Artaxerxes happened to be . . ., being at the same time anxious to obtain the kingdom himself and afraid that . . . he communicated the (plot) to the eunuch Mithridates, the king's chamberlain.'

119 sqq. Cf. Diod. xi. 69. 1 *ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀρτάβανος τὸ μὲν γένος Ὑρκάνιος, δυνάμενος δὲ πλεῖστον παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀφηγούμενος, ἔκρινεν ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ξέρξην καὶ τὴν* **βασιλείαν** *εἰς* **ἑαυτὸν** *μεταστῆσαι.* **ἀνακοινωσάμενος** *δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν* **πρὸς Μιθριδάτην τὸν εὐνοῦχον**, *ὃς ἦν* **κατακοιμιστὴς τοῦ βασιλέως** *καὶ τὴν κυριωτάτην ἔχων πίστιν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ συγγενὴς ὢν Ἀρταβάνου καὶ φίλος ὑπήκουσε πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν.* [*και την κυριωτατη*]*ν* can be restored in l. 133. Probably Fr. 16 followed Fr. 15 with a very slight interval (cf. p. 102), which is in accordance with the general appearance of the recto of these two fragments, though the verso does not suggest their propinquity. *αὐτός* in l. 123 we refer to Artabanus, the phrase *κατα[σχεῖν τ]ὴν βασιλείαν [βουλόμ]ενος* (cf. *κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν* in Diod. xi. 69. 4 quoted below, and *τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν* in Ephorus Fr. 29) being very close to both Diodorus' *τὴν βασιλείαν . . . μεταστῆσαι* and Justin iii. 1 *Xerxes . . . quippe Artabanus praefectus eius . . . in spem regni adductus cum septem robustissimis filiis regiam vesperi ingreditur*, which is likely in any case to have been partly derived from Ephorus. The chief difficulty is that *δορ]υφόρους* would be expected in l. 120, but the bottom of the letter preceding *φο* (which is practically certain) does not come below the line, nor is the tail of a preceding *ρ* visible. The word is therefore, we conjecture, a synonym for *δορυφόρους*, *λογχ]οφόρους* being preferable to *ξυστ]οφόρους*. With the reading *τοὺ]ς φόρους* there might be a connexion with Diod. xi. 71. 1 *ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν ἄρτι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνακτησάμενος . . . διέταξε τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν συμφερόντως αὐτῷ . . . ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεων κατασκευῆς, καὶ καθόλου τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην ἐπιεικῶς διοικῶν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις.* The rest of Fr. 15 would then have to be restored differently. But though *αὐτός* could be Artaxerxes

and [κτησάμ]ενος is possible in l. 125, the other parallel is closer and more satisfactory. It is just possible that, while Fr. 15 refers to the plot of Artabanus, the parallel section in Diodorus is not 69. 1 but 69. 3–4 *ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀρτάβανος παραγενόμενος ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἔφησε Δαρεῖον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ φονέα γεγονέναι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν περισπᾶν. συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸ τοῦ κατασχεῖν ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἀρχὴν σκοπεῖν ὅπως μὴ δοιλεύσῃ διὰ ῥᾳθυμίαν ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσῃ τὸν φονέα τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρησάμενος· ἐπηγγείλατο δ' αὐτῷ συνεργοὺς παρέξεσθαι τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ βασιλέως.* But this too, in spite of some resemblances, seems to suit Fr. 15 less well than does 69. 1.

The plot of Artabanus is also described by Ctesias Frs. 29–30 *Ἀρτάπανος δὲ μέγα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ δυνάμενος μετ' Ἀσπραμίτου τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ αὐτοῦ μέγα δυναμένου βουλεύονται ἀνελεῖν Ξέρξην, καὶ ἀναιροῦσι κτλ.* This is evidently one of the ultimate sources of Diodorus' statement, which in any case must be derived (with some variations, if our explanation of Fr. 15 is correct) from Ephorus, who was probably responsible for the change of Ἀσπραμίτης to Μιθριδάτης: cf. the variation between Justin's *Bacabasus* (from Ephorus or Dinon?) and Ctesias' Μεγάβυζος (Fr. 30), each representing the Persian name *Bagabukhsha* (cf. Gilmore, *ad loc.*), the subsequent betrayer of Artabanus to Artaxerxes.

121.]ων is probably a participle. [ηγεμων] ων is possible; but Artabanus himself, not Artaxerxes, was in command of the δορυφόροι: cf. the previous n.

ετυγχα[νεν: cf. l. 178]τυγ[χαν? A fondness for τυγχάνειν characterizes **842**; cf. Part v. 124.

123. [αμα με]ν: cf. l. 125 αμα δε and the same contrast in **842**. x. 2.

128–9. ανε]κοινο:[το την . . . .] . ιν: cf. Diod. *l. c.* ἀνακοινωσάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν and **842**. i. 3 κοινωσάμενος . . . περὶ τοῦ πράγματος. ανε]κοινου [την βουλευ]σιν can be read, but is unlikely, the middle being much commoner than the active. The letter before ιν is γ, ξ, σ, or τ. πρα]ξιν would be the right length.

133. Cf. ll. 119 sqq., n.

134–9. Cf. p. 102 and Diod. xi. 30. 4–5 *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὑπωρείας μετεστρατοπέδευσαν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον εὐθετώτερον πρὸς τὴν ὁλοσχερῆ νίκην. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν δεξιῶν γεώλοφος ὑψηλός, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐωνύμων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμός· τὸν δ' ἀνὰ μέσον τόπον ἐπεῖχεν ἡ στρατοπεδεία, πεφραγμένη τῇ φύσει καὶ ταῖς τῶν τόπων ἀσφαλείαις,* where τόπος (cf. ll. 135 and 138) occurs thrice, though the context is different. στρατ[οπεδου] is possible in ll. 136–7, and [ει τοις τ]οποις (Bury) in ll. 137–8, but hardly τ[ο|πο]υ in ll. 134–5. The dividing-point of the lines in this fragment is uncertain.

140–5. Fr. 18 perhaps corresponds to Diod. xi. 57. 3 *αὕτη* (Xerxes' sister) *πυθομένη τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πεποιημένη ἐσθῆτα λαβοῦσα καὶ μετὰ δακρύων ἱκέτευε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιθεῖναι τιμωρίαν τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ. ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτῇ, περιῆει . . .* Lines 143–5 can be restored τον α]δελ[φον τιμωριαν (or κολασιν) προσ]θειν[αι Θεμιστοκλει] ω[ς] δε [. The υ in l. 142, which is nearly certain, would then be expected to belong to δακρύων rather than to ἱκέτευε, but the vestiges of the letter following it do not suit ω, whereas ε is possible. ικετε υε κλαιουσα τον α]δελ[φον would be suitable, but the remaining two lines 140–1 present difficulties. ηλ[θεν in l. 141 is unsatisfactory, for the preceding letter seems to be λ, not α, and με[λαινηι στο]λη is too short. If λ[αβουσα και ικετε]υε be restored,]λη must be the accusative plural of a word meaning 'clothes' or, as there seems to be none available, an adjective in agreement with e.g. ἱμάτια. The suggested correspondence with Diodorus therefore remains very uncertain, especially since the supposed λ of α]δελ[φον can be α, and]σειπ[can be read for]θειν[.

178.]τυγ[χαν: cf. l. 121, n.

192–4. If τας [εκεινο]υ πραξε[ις (cf. l. 20) is right, Fr. 26 may well belong to the estimate of Themistocles. The doubtful ε can be ι. Ελ]λησιν suggests that the corresponding passage in Diodorus is xi. 59. 2–3 *ὥστ' εὐχείρωτον γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. διόπερ ὅταν τὸ μέγεθος*

τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ θεωρήσωμεν κτλ., so that Fr. 26 would seem to come immediately above Fr. 3 (cf. ll. 18 sqq., n.); but the fibres of the verso do not suggest this, and]*λυσαι* is difficult in such a context. The only alternative is *ισ?*]*χυσαι*, with which reading Bury suggests *παρα τοις* Ελ]*λησιν* [. . . . . *μη ισ*]*χυσαι κτλ.*

200–2. None of the references to the Athenians in Diod. xi. 55–70 corresponds verbally to this passage; but with the restoration] Αθηναι[*ους προσεδε*]*χοντο* it can well be connected with xi. 61. 2 *διόπερ αὐτοι μὲν* **προσεδέξαντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους** *ὡς φίλους ὄντας, ὁ δὲ Κίμων κτλ.*]*υοντο* can, however, be read in place of]*χοντο*.

213–14. *την* or *φην* can be read. For *εδωκ*[*ε . . . χωραν* as a possible reference to Xerxes' presents to Themistocles cf. Thuc. i. 138. 5 *ταύτης γὰρ ἦρχε τῆς χώρας, δόντος βασιλέως*, and Diod. xi. 57. 7 *ἐδωρήσατο δ' αὐτῷ πόλεις τρεῖς . . . Λάμψακον δὲ ἀμπελόφυτον ἔχουσαν χώραν πολλήν*. But the words might come in many other contexts, e. g. Cimon's distribution of land in Thrace to the Athenians; cf. Plut. *Cimon* 7 *τὴν δὲ χώραν . . . παρέδωκε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*, and Diod. xi. 60. 2 *καὶ κτίστην Ἀθηναῖον καταστήσας κατεκληρούχησε τὴν χώραν* (cf. p. 103).

218.]*ιδων* [: cf. ll. 237–9, n.

219.]*φοιν*[: Fr. 32 does not seem to be connected with any of the references to the Phoenicians in Diod. xi.

223. Perhaps] Αθη[*ναιοι* in some form; cf. l. 201.

228–30. The mention of the Pelasgians and *κα*]*ταφυγ*[*ή*? suggests that Fr. 35 refers to Scyros and Cimon's discovery of the bones of Theseus, who took refuge there; cf. ll. 49–51, n., and p. 100.

237–9. Cf. p. 99 and Diod. xi. 59. 1–2 (Themistocles) *τίς γὰρ ἕτερος . . . ταῖς ἰδίαις πράξεσιν ἀφείλετο τῆς Σπάρτης ταύτην τὴν* **δόξαν**; *τίνα δ' ἄλλον ἱστορήκαμεν μιᾷ* **πράξει** *ποιήσαντα διενεγκεῖν αὑτὸν μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας τῶν βαρβάρων*; The fact that *ξαν* was either actually or approximately the end of a sentence, as is shown by the paragraphus, renders the connexion of that passage with Fr. 38 very probable. Bury suggests *δο*]|*ξαν* [*τις δε τα κοινα εκ*|*τει*[*ως πραττων μαι*] *πραξ*[*ει . . .* It is tempting also to connect with this fragment Fr. 32, where Ελλην]*ιδων* can be restored in l. 218, and Fr. 39, where *πολι*]*ν των* Ελ[*ληνιδων* is possible in l. 241; but the other lines in those two fragments do not harmonize easily with either that context or each other.

241–2. Cf. the previous n. There is a slight blank space between *οι* and *αν* in l. 242, which, however, is not fatal to Ευβ]*οιαν*, and with *των* Ελ[*ληνων* in l. 241 there might possibly be a reference to the expedition of Cimon against Carystus in Euboea (Thuc. i. 98. 3; cf. pp. 100–1), which was presumably mentioned by Ephorus.

246–8. There is a possible connexion with Diod. xi. 65. 4 *ἄλλων δ' οἰκ ὄντων συμμάχων ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἐπικουρούντων* **κατὰ** *κράτος ἥλωσαν* (sc. the Myceneans), or better with xi. 56. 7 *κομίζειν ταύτην ἐπὶ ἀπήνης κεκρυμμένην καὶ τῶν ἀπαντώντων μηδένα πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδὲ* **κατ'** *ὄψιν ἀπαντῆσαι τῇ ἀγομένῃ* (Lysithides' device for the introduction of Themistocles to Xerxes; cf. p. 99); but if so, Diodorus' version is longer.

252–4. Possibly *συντα*]|*ξα*[*ς δε Αρχιδαμος ο*] | *βα*[*σιλευς τοις αφεσ*]*τη*[*κοσι*: cf. Diod. xi. 63. 7 *τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον οἱ περιλειφθέντες ἐσώθησαν, οὓς συντάξας ὁ* **βασιλεὺς** *Ἀρχίδαμος παρεσκευάζετο πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι*. But between ll. 253 and 254 is a spot of ink which, if not accidental, may belong to a paragraphus, implying a change of sentence, and *γη*[can be read for *τη*[.

255. *εὐεργετεῖν, εὐεργέτης*, and *εὐεργεσία* occur several times in Diod. xi, but the rest of Fr. 44 does not suit the context of any of those passages.

257.]*ασυ*[: perhaps]*ας υπ*[*ο*.

267–9. Fr. 48 exactly suits Diod. xi. 62. 3 *να*]*υς ελ*[*ον εν πελαγει*] *ανδ*[*ρων πληθουσας με*]*γ*[*α*, from the metrical inscription concerning Cimon's victories, which is in any case probably quoted from Ephorus; cf. ll. 62–76, n. But the fragment is too small to be identified with

certainty, and in l. 269 π can be read in place of γ. Another possible parallel is xi. 54. 4 *Παυσανίας μὲν κρίνας προδιδόναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐδήλωσε τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ παρεκάλεσε.* *το]ὺς Ελ[ληνας την ιδι]αν δ[ηλωσας* would account for ll. 267–8, and]γ[(or]π[) might belong to *επιβολην* or a synonym for it, or to *π[αρεκαλεσε.*

282–4. Fr. 53 is to be combined with Frs. 9 + 10. i, though not actually joining them, and belongs to ll. 67–9; cf. ll. 66–9, n. The fibres on the verso harmonize excellently with those of Fr. 10, and the vestiges in l. 284 can be the top of *πα(ραταχ[θεισ]ας).*

1611. Extracts from a Work on Literary Criticism.

Fr. 1 18·6 × 26·5 cm. Early third century.

These seventy fragments of a work on literary criticism, evidently composed by a grammarian, were found with **1610**, &c. The largest piece, Fr. 1, contains after a few letters from the ends of lines four nearly complete columns, while the other pieces are much smaller; about 130 lines in all are complete or can be restored. Various literary topics, which have no apparent connexion with each other, are discussed, being illustrated by frequent quotations from lost or (in two cases) extant works—a circumstance which lends the papyrus considerable interest. The two sections of which the beginnings are preserved (ll. 38 and 101) both commence with *ὅτι*, so that probably the text is a series of extracts from a longer work.

In Fr. 1 ll. 28–37 give the conclusion of a discussion of a contest of comedies and of the number of the judges. There is perhaps a contrast drawn between the practice of the writer's own day and that of earlier times, and the *Bacchae* of Lysippus and Πλοῦτοι of Cratinus are cited as authorities for a number (apparently that of the *κριταί*) being five; but the context is obscure in several points; cf. ll. 30, 35, nn.

The next section (ll. 38–100), which is practically complete, is mainly concerned with Caeneus, the mythical king of the Lapithae, who was first a woman, but was changed into a man by Poseidon, and rendered invulnerable, then incurred the enmity of Zeus by making his subjects worship his spear instead of the gods, and was ultimately buried alive by the Centaurs. The explanation of Caeneus' spear, which became proverbial, is given in connexion with a reference to it in Book ii of Theophrastus' Περὶ *βασιλείας* (ll. 38–46), the whole story of Caeneus being related in an extract from Acusilaus of Argos, an early writer on mythology who was probably older than Herodotus (ll. 55–83). Since the thirty-one extant fragments of Acusilaus (FHG. i. 100–3) contain hardly any professed quotations of his actual words, the papyrus for the first time affords an opportunity of estimating the character of that author's *ἱστορία* or *γενεαλογίαι*. The dialect proves to be in the main Ionic, as had generally been surmised, although no trace of it has been preserved in the extant

fragments; and the style is decidedly primitive. A Doric form of the aorist infinitive, τεκέν, is found in l. 59, and a curious expression, μάλιστα χρημάτων, occurs in ll. 67–8. The influence of Acusilaus' version of the Caeneus legend is now traceable in scholia on Homer and Apollonius Rhodius, which may have derived their knowledge of the passage through our author; cf. l. 56, n. A rather naïve remark of the ancient logographer, that it was not ἱερόν for gods to bear children by mortals, leads our author first to the citation of two lines from the Ἀλκμέων ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου of Euripides, spoken by Apollo, which illustrated this subject, and later to a short discussion of it, the last four lines being fragmentary (ll. 85–100).

In the third section (ll. 101–20) the first four lines are fragmentary, the ends of lines are missing throughout, and the conclusion is not reached, so that the reconstruction is somewhat difficult. The subject is the various persons called Thucydides, of whom three are distinguished, the politician (son of Melesias and father of Stephanus), the historian (son of Olorus), and the Pharsalian, as in Marcellinus' life of the historian. Polemon's treatise Περὶ ἀκροπόλεως, which is known from Marcellinus to have discussed the second and third Thucydides, is here mentioned with reference to the first, apparently as the authority for a statement based on epigraphic evidence that he was the father of Stephanus, which is to be connected with an extant quotation from another work of Polemon (ll. 101–11, n.). In confirmation of the paternity of Stephanus, which seems to have been disputed, a passage from the *Meno* of Plato is quoted, and Fr. 1 breaks off where the writer was about to add fresh evidence on the point from a lost comedy, the *Iapetus* of Hermippus.

The order of the smaller fragments is quite uncertain except in a few instances. Fr. 2. i is concerned with a βόρειος ἵππος, two lines from the beginning of the *Omphale* of Ion being quoted as an illustration (ll. 121–7), but how the subject was introduced does not appear. The difficulty, whatever it was, is stated to have been solved by Mnaseas of Patara in his work Περὶ χρησμῶν (ll. 128–30). Fr. 4 is concerned with a female character in epic poetry (Penthesilea?), part of a hexameter line referring to her being cited (ll. 146–7), besides two mentions of her by authors whose names are imperfectly preserved, one of them being perhaps Arctinus, who wrote the *Aethiopis* (ll. 148–52). Frs. 5, 6, and 43 are to be combined, as appears partly from external evidence, partly from the resulting satisfactory restoration of ll. 160–4. The main subject of this section, of which the beginning and end are not preserved, is the authorship of a celebrated ancient ode to Pallas. The first three words of this ode Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινάν were quoted by Aristophanes in l. 967 of the *Clouds*, and from the extant rather confused scholia on that passage and another in Aristides it is

known that according to Eratosthenes Phrynichus (i. e. the comic poet) attributed the authorship of the ode to Lamprocles, an early Athenian dithyrambic poet, while others assigned the ode to Stesichorus. Our author, who refers to an inconclusive discussion of the claims of Lamprocles and Stesichorus by Chamaeleon (a disciple of Aristotle), and possibly, but by no means certainly, mentions Eratosthenes (ll. 158–9, n.), also adduces the evidence of Phrynichus in favour of Lamprocles as the author, and quotes the passage in Aristophanes (ll. 160–76).

Little can be made of the remaining fragments. There is probably a reference in Fr. 8. ii to Hellanicus on Κτίσεις (ll. 212–14, n.); but the context is obscure. Fr. 9, which is more considerable, relates to a person with a name beginning with probably Α or Λ and ending in -δημος (e. g. Aristodemus), who, after adventures in which the Naxians and Thracians were apparently concerned, was carried off and put to death after a trial by the Parians (ll. 218–28). The *Orestes* of Theodectes (?) is quoted in Fr. 17, and apparently a play of Lysippus in Fr. 21, while Fr. 16 perhaps has another reference to the *Omphale* of Ion, and Fr. 14 possibly mentions Simonides. Other proper names which occur are Ασση[(l. 247, n.), Lycia or the Lycians (l. 251), Odysseus (l. 272, perhaps in connexion with his descent to Hades), and Ptolemaeus (possibly Ptol. Philopator or Philadelphus; ll. 369–70, n.). The names of the grammarians Aristarchus and Didymus can be restored in ll. 231 and 283 respectively, but in neither place with any confidence. That Frs. 31–2, 42, 44–5, 63–5, and 68 belong to **1611** is not at all certain. All the fragments belong to the middles of columns, except Fr. 1 and where it is otherwise stated.

The handwriting is a small neat uncial closely resembling that of **1012**, a treatise on literary composition, written soon after A. D. 205 (Part vii, Plate iv). **1611** also probably belongs to the first two or three decades of the third century, and is approximately contemporary with **1610**, of which the script is similar, but larger. The columns are short, consisting of 24 or 25 lines of 14–20 letters, generally about 17. The end of a section is marked in l. 37 by a coronis, which is employed after l. 115 and probably l. 138 to divide a quotation from the main text. Paragraphi also occur after ll. 90 (where it is misplaced), 165, 214, and 231 to indicate quotations. Strokes against the margin of ll. 83–4 call attention to the recommencement of the author's commentary at the end of the extract from Acusilaus, of which the beginning is distinguished by the sign ⳨ (l. 56, n.). The obelus against l. 116 apparently also indicates a quotation, and the two flourishes after l. 138 seem to be merely supplementary to the neighbouring coronis. High stops were used, but not at all regularly; one doubtful instance of a stop in the middle position occurs in l. 442. Occasional marks of elision and quantity and accents are found in the poetical quotations (ll. 91 and 127), and there are some

diaereses over ι and υ. An abbreviation, κ′ for καί, is used in l. 216. Iota adscript was not infrequently omitted by the first hand, but when ignored was inserted by a contemporary corrector, who might even be the same scribe. The insertion, however, of two words omitted in l. 59 and similar additions of omitted letters in ll. 281, 338, and 350 all seem to be in a second hand, especially the cursively written ε above l. 281; in ll. 169 and 223 the alterations are most probably due to the first hand. The revision of the papyrus was in any case not very thorough, and several small mistakes remain uncorrected, ll. 45 ο for ου, 46 αξιον for αξιων, 57 Ποσιδων for Ποσειδεων, 61 αυτον for αυτην, 80 ορειον for ορθιον, 84 τι for το, 91 απ' for απο, 107 the apparent omission of καλου after Κο[αλεμου, 127 αἰνεται for ἄνεται, 222 μεθικαν for μεθηκαν: cf. also ll. 123, 146, and 172–3, nn.

The date of the papyrus itself excludes a later period than about the middle of the second century for the composition of the work from which **1611** was excerpted. On the other hand a date not earlier than 200 B.C. is indicated by the references to (1) Polemon, who was a Delphic πρόξενος in 177–6 B.C. (Susemihl, *Gesch. d. Alex. Lit.* i. 667[122]), and according to Suidas a contemporary of Ptolemy Epiphanes (204–181 B.C.), and (2) Mnaseas, who according to an ambiguously worded statement of Suidas was a pupil of Eratosthenes. The striking resemblance between the discussion of the authorship of the ode to Pallas in **1611** and the views attributed to Eratosthenes by the scholia on Aristophanes' *Clouds* 967 (cf. pp. 128–9 and ll. 162–5, n.) at first sight suggests that the papyrus may consist of extracts from Eratosthenes' clebrated work Περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας. The first of the three sections in Fr. 1 seems to be concerned with the Old Comedy; the second, about Caeneus, deals with a subject which was the basis of plays by two writers of the Middle Comedy, Antiphanes and Araros, and may well have been utilized earlier, while the third, about Thucydides, leads up to a quotation from Hermippus. The two statements attributed to Asclepiades of Myrlea by Suidas that Polemon (1) synchronized with Aristophanes of Byzantium (the successor of Eratosthenes as librarian at Alexandria; cf. p. 131) and (2) was the disciple of Panaetius (about 180–110 B.C.) are scarcely consistent with each other, and the second has usually been regarded as corrupt; cf. Susemihl, i. 666[113]. Since Eratosthenes according to Suidas was born in 276–2 B.C. and died at the age of eighty in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, it is possible that his Περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας quoted Polemon's earlier works. The suggestion of Knaack (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* vi. 360), that the treatise on Comedy was written in the early part of Eratosthenes' life before he left Athens for Alexandria, is not based on any evidence, and Theophrastus, a writer utilized in it (cf. Strecker, *De Lycophrone, Euphronio, Eratosthene*, &c., Fr. 75), is also quoted in **1611** (l. 38). Polemon, who joined the Pergamene

school, wrote a treatise against Eratosthenes (Susemihl, i. 670[153]) Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρατοσθένους ἐπιδημίας, denying (probably ironically) that Eratosthenes had ever been at Athens, and two of the six extant fragments of that treatise (Frs. 47–8, FHG. iii. 130) apparently refer to statements in the Περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, which was therefore earlier than Polemon's attack on Eratosthenes. It is, however, not quite clear that Polemon is mentioned in **1611** with approval (cf. ll. 101–11, n.), and the controversy between him and Eratosthenes may have been begun by the latter. As regards Mnaseas, whose date mainly depends on that of Eratosthenes, the fact that he is quoted with approval in **1611** (l. 128) is not inconsistent with the hypothesis that he was the author's own pupil; but it is not quite certain whether Suidas meant to call Mnaseas the pupil of Eratosthenes or of Aristarchus. The latter interpretation, which would of course be fatal to the view that **1611** was the work of Eratosthenes, is rejected by Susemihl, i. 679[209]. The date of Eratosthenes' death (196–4 B.C.), which is accepted by Susemihl mainly on the evidence of Suidas, thus leaves a narrow margin of time available to which the Περὶ ἀρχ. κωμ. could be assigned on the assumption that **1611** belongs to that work; but most of this margin tends to disappear, if with Knaack (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* vi. 359) Strabo's statement that Eratosthenes was the pupil of Zeno of Citium be accepted; for Eratosthenes' birth and death must then be put back about ten years earlier than Suidas' dates. **1241**, which settles the order of the Alexandrian librarians from Apollonius Rhodius to Cydas and rectifies some errors of Suidas, is apt to be mistaken or corrupt in its chronological references to the Ptolemies with whom the librarians were associated. But the position assigned to Eratosthenes, next after Apollonius Rhodius and before Aristophanes of Byzantium, whose successors were (omitting καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος in **1241**. ii. 8 as an interpolation) Apollonius the εἰδογράφος and Aristarchus of Samothrace, suggests that Eratosthenes' literary activity hardly continued as late as the reign of Epiphanes, and if the corrupt Φιλοπάτορος in **1241**. ii. 15 is corrected to Ἐπιφάνους instead of Φιλομήτορος, as is possible, Eratosthenes' period of office at Alexandria must have ended soon after the accession of Philopator in 222–1 B.C. Hence, though the difficulty caused by the mention of Mnaseas can be got over, that caused by the reference to Polemon Περὶ ἀκροπόλεως is a much more serious and probably insuperable obstacle to the attribution of **1611** to Eratosthenes Περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας. Moreover it is possible that the scholium on Aristophanes which gives Lamprocles' version of the ode to Pallas is nearer to Eratosthenes' actual words than are the other scholia, which agree with **1611** in quoting Phrynichus' version (cf. ll. 162–5, n.), and the ode to Pallas was evidently the subject of much discussion. Lastly, in **1611** the sections about Caeneus and Thucydides are not, so far

as can be judged, specially concerned with Old Comedy, so that a later author than Eratosthenes is distinctly more probable. Eratosthenes may even have been referred to by name in the discussion of the ode to Pallas (ll. 158–9, n.), and he is in any case likely to have been the main source of that section of the papyrus.

The hypothesis of the Eratosthenean authorship of the section concerning the ode to Pallas might be combined with the attribution of other sections to different grammarians; but though it is not certain that the various extracts are all from the same work, there is more to be said in favour of the view that they come from one of the *miscellanies* (*σύμμικτα*), which were composed by several grammarians of the Alexandrine and Roman periods. Of these miscellanies the earliest known is by Callistratus the pupil of Aristophanes of Byzantium and composer also of a work Πρὸς τὰς *ἀθετήσεις* (sc. of Aristarchus) and commentaries on Cratinus and Aristophanes; cf. Athen. iii. 125 c–d, where the 7th book is quoted, R. Schmidt, *De Callistrato Aristophaneo*, and Susemihl, i. 450. Another composer of miscellanies was Herodicus ὁ Κρατήτειος, who is chiefly known from quotations in Athenaeus from his three works, Πρὸς τὸν Φιλοσωκράτην, Σύμμικτα *ὑπομνήματα* (Athen. viii. 340 e), and Κωμῳδούμενοι (in at least six books). His date is disputed: Gudeman in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* viii. 974, assigns him to the first century B.C. That the celebrated Didymus, who died in the reign of Augustus, wrote Σύμμικτα is attested by the *Etym. Gud.* 124. 2, where it is stated that Alexion (a first-century grammarian of Alexandria) made an epitome of them. The Σύμμικτα are generally identified with the Συμποσιακά of Didymus, which were also of a miscellaneous character; cf. Cohn in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* v. 470. Suidas'[1] list of the works of Seleucus, the Homeric critic, who lived in the time of Tiberius (Gudeman, *l. c.*), ends καὶ *ἄλλα σύμμικτα*, and Seleucus *ἐν* Συμμίκτοις is cited by Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1055. Pamphila, who lived in the reign of Nero, wrote according to Photius (*Cod.* 175) thirty-three books *συμμίκτων ἱστορικῶν ὑπομνημάτων λόγοι*, which were largely used by Aulus Gellius and Diogenes Laertius. **1611** may well belong to one of these five writers of miscellanies; but Didymus has the strongest claim to be regarded as the author, since in his case the existence of an epitome is also attested. In the absence of any clear reference to grammarians later than the second century B.C. Callistratus is more suitable as the composer than Herodicus, Seleucus, or Pamphilus, and **1611** seems to be somewhat earlier than **1012**, which mentions both Didymus and Caecilius Calactinus, and was not composed before A.D. 50. Dionysius ὁ *μουσικός*, who is known to have discussed the authorship of the ode to Pallas (cf. ll. 162–5, n.) and lived in the time of Hadrian, is not at all likely to be the author of **1611**, for his known works are all concerned with *μουσική* in some form or (if he was identical with Aelius Dionysius) lexicography, and

the Caeneus and Thucydides sections are not at all appropriate to him. Rufus, who is coupled with Dionysius (cf. ll. 162–5, n.) and is thought to have epitomized his Μουσικὴ ἱστορία (cf. Cohn in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* v. 986), is, apart from other considerations, unsuitable on account of his date, which is probably third century or later.

We are indebted to Mr. T. W. Allen for several suggestions in the reconstruction of this papyrus.

Fr. 1.

Col. i.	Col. ii.	Col. iii.
5 lines lost	3 lines lost	[π]τρωι καθαπ[ερ οι π]ọ
	[. . .]λα . [.	50 [λλο]ι̣ βασιλεις [εσφαλη ?] | ου
	[. . .]ς αντι̣[. . . . .]αι	[γαρ] εδυνατο π̣[ρος ?] | τ̣ης
]ο	30 [. . .]ọν νυν ọ̣ . ẹ̣ρα . η	[υπ Α]κουσιλαου [του] | Αρ
]ν	μ̣ạ̣ς δυ οντας τεττα	γειου κατ̣αλ[εγομενης]
]̣ντων	ρ[α]ς και τους κριτας δη	ιστοριας απολυσα[ι
] . α	λον ουτως τετταρα	55 λεγει γαρ περι Καινεα̣ [
10]σ	κοντα Λυσιππ[ο]ς̣ δ̣ εν	☧ ουτως Καινηι δε τηι
]ει	35 Βακχαις ε̄ ομοιως δε	Ελατου μισγεται Ποσι
]α̣ις	και Κρατινος εν Πλου	δων επειτα ου γαρ ην
12 lines lost	τοις λεγει	τεκέν ουτ αυτοις ι̣ερον παιδας [[τ]] εξ̣ ε
	>——	
	[ο]τι το παρα Θεοφραστωι	60 κεινου ουτ εξ̣ αλλου ου
	λε̣[γο]μενον εν τωι δευ	δενος ποιει αυτον Πο
	40 τερωι Περι βασιλειας	σε̣[ι]δεων ανδρα ατρω
	περι του Καινεως δο	[το]ν̣ ι̣σχυν εχοντα [με]γι
	ρατος τουτο και ουτος	[σ]τ̣[η]ν των ανθρωπων
	εστιν ως αληθως ο τωι	65 των τοτε και οτε τις αυ
	σκηπτρωι βασιλευων	τον κεντοιη σιδηρωι
	45 ο⟨υ⟩ τωι δορατι καθαπερ	η χαλκωι ηλισκετο μα
	ο Καινευς αξιον γαρ	λιστα χρηματων και
	[κρά]τειν ο Καινευς τωι	γιγνεται βασιλευς ου
	[δορ]ατι αλλ ουχι τωι σκη	70 τος Λαπιθεων και τοις
		Κενταυροις πολεμεε
		σκε επειτα στησας ακον

59. τε of τεκέν corr. from ου. 72. ι of επειτα added later.

Col. iv.

[τιον εν αγοραι τουτωι ?]
[κελευει θυειν ? θεοι]
σι δ ουκ ηε . [. . . . . και ?
Ζευς ιδων αυτ[ον τα]υτα
ποιουντα απειλει και
εφορμαι τους Κενταυρους
κακεινοι αυτον κατα
κοπτουσιν ορειον κατα
γης και ανωθεν πετρην
επιτιθεισιν σημα και
/ αποθνησκει· τουτ ε[σ]τιν
/ γαρ ισως τι τωι δορατι αρ
χειν τον Καινεα δυνα
ται δε δια τουτου και το
παρ Ευριπιδηι εν Αλκμε
ωνι τωι δια Κ[ο]ρινθου
λεγομενον υπο θεου
καγω μεν ατεκνος εγε
νομην κεινης απ'· Αλ
κμεωνι δ ετεκε διδυ
μα τεκνα παρθενος
εαν τις ζητηι πως η
του θεου μειξις αγονος
εστιν δια του προκει

Col. v.

[μενου . . . . .]
λι[. . . . . .
τα . [. . . . . .
χεν [. . . . . .
οτι ουχ [. . . . . .
δη . [. . . . και ? Πολεμων
εν τωι [·: Περι ακροπο
λεως δ[. . . . . .
αναγραφ[. . . . . .
τον Μελησιου [υιον Στε
φανου δε του Κ[ορ]αλεμου ⟨καλου⟩
μενου πατερα [ουτοι ?
δε τον συγγραφ[εα μεν
φασιν Ολορου υι[ον τρι ?
τον δε τον Φαρσ[αλιον
περι μεν ουν του [του Στε
φανου πατρος κ[αι Πλα
των φησιν εν τ[ωι Με
νωνι ουτως [οτι Θου
κυδιδης δυο [νεις εθρε
ψεν Μελησια[ν και Στε
φανον· τουτου[ς επαιδευ
σεν· και Ερμιπ[πος ο ποι
ητης εν Ιαπε[τωι λεγει

87. κ of αλκμεωνι corr.

Fr. 2 (tops of cols.?).

Col. i.

[. .] ο εν τηι Ἰωνο[ς Ομφ]α
λη κατ αρχην λεγομε
[ν]ος Ηρακλεους βορειος
[ιπ]πος ουτως ορων μεν
[η]δη Πελοπος εξελαυ

Col. ii.

[
ποι[
ποιο . [
ρ . α . [
. . .

Fr. 3.

. . . ι[
ον πατ[
ο δε θα[
μεγαλ[
πενθε[

[νο]μεν Ερμη βορειον
[ιπ]πον· αἰνεται δ οδος
[διαλ]ελυκε δ αυτο Μνα
[σεας ο?] Παταρ[ευς ε]ν τῳ[ι]
[Περι χ]ρησμῳ[ν . . . . . .

140 πος ποτ[
θαρσει π[
ος εμ[
ο εξε[

Fr. 4.

Col. i.

144]ν

Col. ii.

δρ[. .]τ[. . . . . και?
συ γυναι τινος εγγον[ος
ειχ[ε]αι ειναι και τ[α ε
ξης και ως εκτιθετ[αι Αρ
[κτι?]νος ολον αυτη[ς
[τον] θανατον και ο [. .
[. . .]δης δε τον τρ[. .
. [. . . εν] τ[ω] η̄ [.]ια[. .
ν[

Frs. 5+43.

[ ] . [
σιν[
α̣δ[
αφ[
θα[
νησε[
ταις Φ[ρυ]ν[ιχος . . . . .
αφηγο[υ]μεν[ος . . . . .
Πα[λ]λα[δα] περ[σεπολιν
κληιζ]ω π[ολεμαδο

Fr. 6.

Col. i.

[κο]ν αγναν π[αιδα Δι
[ος] μεγαλου δ[αμασιπ
πον ουτω παρα[ποιει?
διαπορουσι γαρ ου[κ ο
λιγοι π[ε]ρι τ[ου]των κα
[θ]απερ Χαμαιλεων πο
τερον ποτε Στη[σι]χορου
εστιν η Λαμπροκλ[ε
[ο]υς κ[αιπ]ερ[[ι]] του Φρυν[ι
[χου Λαμ]προκλει μα[θη⟨τη⟩?
[Μιδωνος?] προσνεμον
[τος και? Α]ριστοφανης
[δε? παραπ]οιει λεγων
[Παλλαδα] π[ε]ρσε[π]ο[λιν)
end of col.

169. *υ* of Στη[σι]χορου corr. from *s*.

Col. ii.

[.] . ν[
τοις [
τοπ[
αμφ[
κοις [
πλα[
λαβ[
οσον [
χετ[
ευρω . [
λιαις ω[στε?
ειναι τον [
ρισμον . [
ει γε και [
και εν[
π[.]ει[
end of col.

Fr. 7.

] .
] . σι
]ως πυρ
]ιπονο
ο]υ μονοι
]ησεν αλ
λα και] . ε[[ξ]]εν
]μβοι
]ονοις
]τι γνη
] . εστ[.
]νησ[.
]πεν[.

Fr. 8.

Col. i.

206]. ιπον
]γ̣ει

Col. ii.

[. . .]ευ[
[. .]ν π . [
210 χ̣ερ̣ε̣ . [
τοι συμ[
βιων π̣[. . . . . Ελλανι
κος δ̣ εν̣ [ταις Εθνων ?
κτισεσι̣ [
215 δ̣̄ε̄ περι̣[
[.] . ροι̣ κ́ [
[.]ε συμ[

Fr. 9.

α̣λλ̣[
Ναξ[ιοι ? . . . . . εν ? με
220 ταιχ[μιωι ? . . . . . .
τα των Θρᾳ̣[κων . . . . .
μεθικαν α̣[ποκομισα ?
[μ]ενο[[ς]] δε̣ τον Α̣[ριστο ?
δημον εις την Π̣[αρον ?
225 ῃτιωντο περι τουτ[ων
οι Παριοι και εις δι[κα
στηριον εισαγαγον[τες
απεκτειναν· κ[αι ? . .
[. . . . . .]η̣ς δ̣ εν̣ [. . . .

Fr. 10.

230 δ[
αριστ̣α̣[
δ̄ εν̄ ζ̄ τρ[
διων εχ[
ρ[ο]υ̣ κ̣αι κ[
235 την ερυθ̣[ραν
ου ξενο̣ν̣ [
παρατρ[
μα εξην̣[
γαρ̣ την̣ . . [ου ?
240 κ̣ αν ειπεν̣ [

Fr. 11.

. . . . . .] . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .]εγκη̣[. . .
. . . . . παρ ?]ο̣ιμιω̣[. . . .
. . . .] . . . [. .] ει̣[. . . .
245 . .]α̣ρις εσχατοι̣[. . . .
. . .]τουσης ηδονα[ς η ?
αλγ ?]ηδονας ο δε Ασση̣[
. . .]ι̣ [σ]τρατευοι περ[ι .
end of col.

Fr. 12.

[. .]τιν[
250 μους ο̣[
Λυκι[
τε . [
ρω[
νι . [
255 ριλ̣[
εκ . [
[ο]ι . [

Fr. 13.

]τ̣ρ[
]κοσμ̣[
260]ν̣ αλλ . [
]ο̣ι ημερ̣[
]ο̣ν̣ ποτ[
]πο των̣ [
end of col.

Fr. 14.

]λ̣α̣ τ̣αγμ̣[
265 π̄]ρωτον [
]α̣ν̣ λαβο̣[
]ο̣υ̣τω α . [
]ωνιδου[
ο̣ν̣[
]ω̣[.]η̣ . [

Fr. 15.

270]νναδο̣[
] Αιδου υ[
Οδ]υσσευς . [
]τ̣ησω . [
]ος· κα[

Fr. 16.

275]ησω[
φη ?]σι δε [περι ?
]ης Ïων [
]λ̣ην τι[
]ν̣τ̣[

Fr. 17.

[Θεοδεκ?]τ[η]ς δ εν Ορεστη[
ε
[περι? . . .]ατιας φησιν
] . θην υπο
]ιδ̣[.]μος δ̣[.

Fr. 18.

]θνοῦ[
]περσ̣[
] επι τη[
]ν κ[
end of col.

Fr. 19.

]τ . ν̣[
] καθ ην̣[
]αβια . [
]αμας της [
end of col.

Fr. 20.

]α̣ιοι . [
]ουκ[
]οιε[
] . .
]ω̣μ̣[

Frs. 21 + 22.

]η . [.
]ς δε
]ο
] . υ
Λ]υσιπ
πος εν—] ουτως
]ντρ̣[.
]η πρι
]ειλη
] πυρ
]κος
]τα
end of col.?

Fr. 23.

] . [
]υλ[
]α̣[
]ι̣ν̣[
]ων̣[
]ον̣[
]στ̣[

Fr. 24.

]αιλ[
]α̣ισο̣[
]κεμ̣[
] . μ̣[
]ει . [
]κμη[

Fr. 25.

[. . .] υπαλ[
[. . .]ετρον [
πανον̣ και ν̣[
τ εγχη̣[
εν τοις̣ [
end of col.

Fr. 26.

]ας̣ επ̣[
]ουτ[
] β̄ κρ[
]ο γαρ . [
] . ουλε[
end of col.

Fr. 27.

] . [
] . . [
]ντ[
]ηθο̣[
]τ̣ριτ[
]νια[

Fr. 28.

τα[
]ρωι π̣[
]ν τη [[.]] . [
]του ν̣ . . [
]ται λιρ[
end of col.

Fr. 29.

] . σει[
]προ . [
]ωδ[
]ν κ[

Fr. 30.

top of col.
] ιππολ[
λω̣ι στ[
]α̣μ̣[
]α̣σ[

Fr. 31.

]ως
] . τα . [
ε]πιφα̣[
]δο̣τ̣[
]ν· τω[

Fr. 32.

]α̣ιο[
] . ωρι[
]ατακο̣ι
επ]ιχ . [

Fr. 33.

] . [
]μαφυ̣[
] . απο[
]σ[

Fr. 34.

]δ[
]οσ[
]στε[
]τ̣η[

Fr. 35.

top of col.
]ς εκ[
] . ης τ̣[
]ν[

Fr. 36.

]εως φ[
] Πτολεμ̣[αι
]στιο̣[

370. τ of Πτολ. inserted.

Fr. 37.

372 ϵ . [
π̣[
ν[

Fr. 38.

375]φα[
]αυ[
]θ̣[

Fr. 39.

]αιμ̣[
] . α̣ι .[
380]σ̣[

Fr. 40.

381]δεσ[
]φορ̣ο̣[
]απερ̣[

Fr. 41.

] . ι προ̣[
385] . [.]νϵ . [
] . υ̣ . . τ̣α̣[
] . [

Fr. 42.

]ι̣ν π̣ρ̣[
] . γαρ υπερ̣[
390]ουνοστ[
] . [

Fr. 43.

]ν̣[
]μ̣ειν̣[
]περ[
395]ωπ̣[

Fr. 44.

396]ν̣ λη̣[
]σ̣το[
]ντα[
] . . [

Fr. 45.

400]τ̣ο
]να̣[
] . το . [

Fr. 46.

] . [
]ν αλ[
405]αι̣[

Fr. 47.

406] . [
]ουλ[
]ο[.] . [

Fr. 48.

]δ̣[
410]ητρι . [
end of col.

Fr. 49.

411]σ
]ει
]ις

Fr. 50.

] . τει̣[
415]α̣ινω[
end of col.

Fr. 51.

416] . δο̣θ̣[
]ανυ̣[
end of col.

Fr. 52.

418] . [.]ϵ̣[
]ο· το λο[
end of col.

Fr. 53.

420]υ̣[. .] . [
] . τεσωσ[
end of col.

Fr. 54.

422]η[
]φυ[

Fr. 55.

]ν ρεξ̣[
425]μ . [

Fr. 56.

]τωι̣ν [
]λϵ[

Fr. 57.

428]ωρ . [
]τειδ̣[

Fr. 58.

430]θ̣ϵλ̣[
]λ̣λι̣[

Fr. 59.

432] . παλ[
]αρ̣τ̣ω̣[

Fr. 60.

]υξ̣[
435]ω̣ . . [

Fr. 61.

436]ν̣
]κατ

Fr. 62.

438]κ[
] . . [

Fr. 63.

440] . ποι . [
] . [

Fr. 64.

442]ναι̣· ο[
end of col.

Fr. 65.

443] . . ξα̣[
end of col.

Fr. 66.

444]υσι̣[

Fr. 67.

445] . σ̣[
]χ̣α[
]α̣κα̣[
]α̣ι̣σ̣[

Fr. 68.

]ν̣ πατ̣[
450]μ̣οιγ̣[
]ει̣λ̣[

29–37.]ς ἀντι[. . . . .]ι[. . .]ον νῦν σ . ερα . ' ἡμᾶς δύ' ὄντας τέτταρ[α]ς καὶ τοὺς κριτάς', δῆλον οὕτως τετταράκοντα, Λύσιππ[ο]ς δ' ἐν Βάκχαις ε', ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Πλούτοις λέγει.

'. . . "us being two, and the judges four", thus evidently forty; but Lysippus in the *Bacchae* says that they were five, and so does Cratinus in the Πλοῦτοι.'

38–97. [ὅ]τι τὸ παρὰ Θεοφράστῳ λε[γό]μενον ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ βασιλείας περὶ τοῦ Καινέως δόρατος τοῦτο· ' καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ τῷ σκήπτρῳ βασιλεύων, ο⟨ὐ⟩ τῷ δόρατι καθάπερ ὁ Καινεύς.' ἀξι⟨ῶ⟩ν γὰρ [κρα]τεῖν ὁ Καινεὺς τῷ [δόρ]ατι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῷ σκή[π]τρῳ καθάπ[ερ οἱ π]ο[λλο]ὶ βασιλεῖς, [ἐσφάλη· ?] οὐ [γὰρ] ἐδύνατο π[ρὸς τ] τῆς [ὑπ' Ἀ]κουσιλάου [τοῦ] Ἀργείου καταλ[εγομένης] ἱστορίας ἀπολῦσα[ι]. λέγει γὰρ περὶ Καινέα οὕτως· ' Καινῆ δὲ τῇ Ἐλάτου μίσγεται Ποσειδ⟨έ⟩ων. ἔπειτα, οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν παῖδας τεκεῖν οὔτ' ἐξ ἐκείνου οὔτ' ἐξ ἄλλου οὐδενός, ποιεῖ αὐτ⟨ὴ⟩ν Ποσε[ι]δέων ἄνδρα ἄτρω[το]ν, ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα [με]γί[σ]τ[η]ν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τότε, καὶ ὅτε τις αὐτὸν κεντοίη σιδηρῷ ἢ χαλκῷ, ἡλίσκετο μάλιστα χρημάτων. καὶ γίγνεται βασιλεὺς οὗτος Λαπιθέων καὶ τοῖς Κενταύροις πολεμέεσκε, ἔπειτα στήσας ἀκόν[τιον ἐν ἀγορᾷ τούτῳ κελεύει θύειν? θεοῖ]σι δ' οὐκ ἦε . [. . . . . , καὶ?] Ζεὺς ἰδὼν αὐτ[ὸν τα]ῦτα ποιοῦντα ἀπειλεῖ καὶ ἐφορμᾷ τοὺς Κενταύρους, κἀκεῖνοι αὐτὸν κατακόπτουσιν ὄρ⟨θ⟩ιον κατὰ γῆς καὶ ἄνωθεν πέτρην ἐπιτιθείσιν σῆμα καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει.' τοῦτ' ἔ[σ]τιν γὰρ ἴσως τ⟨ὸ⟩ τῷ δόρατι ἄρχειν τὸν Καινέα. δύναται δὲ διὰ τούτου καὶ τὸ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἀλκμέωνι τῷ διὰ Κ[ο]ρίνθου λεγόμενον ὑπὸ θεοῦ·

' κἀγὼ μὲν ἄτεκνος ἐγενόμην κείνης ἄπ⟨ο⟩,
Ἀλκμέωνι δ' ἔτεκε δίδυμα τέκνα παρθένος.'

εἀν τις ζητῇ πῶς ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μεῖξις ἄγονός ἐστιν, διὰ τοῦ προκει[μένου . . .

'That what Theophrastus says in the second book *Concerning Kingship* about the spear of Caeneus is as follows. "And this is the king who really rules by his sceptre, not by his spear like Caeneus." For Caeneus claiming to govern by his spear, not by his sceptre as is the fashion of most kings, failed, because he had no power, according to the story related by Acusilaus the Argive, to release. He describes Caeneus as follows. "Caene daughter of Elatus was united to Poseidon; afterwards, since it was impious for them to have children either by him or by any one else, Poseidon made her an invulnerable man, possessing the greatest strength of any person then living, and when any one stabbed him with iron or bronze, he was conquered most certainly of all. So Caeneus became king of the Lapithae, and waged war with the Centaurs. Afterwards he set up his javelin in the market-place and bade people sacrifice to it. But this was not (pleasing?) to the gods, and Zeus seeing him doing this, threatened him and stirred up the Centaurs against him; and they cut him down upright below the ground, and put a mass of rock above as a tomb; so he died." That is apparently what is meant by Caeneus ruling by a spear, and it also explains what is said by the god in Euripides' Ἀλκμέων ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου "And I was without child by her, but she bare to Alcmaeon twin children, a virgin." If the inquiry is made how union with a god is without offspring, (it is shown) through the aforesaid . . .'

101–20. ὅτι οὐχ [. . . . .]δη . [. . . . καὶ? Πολέμων] ἐν τῷ [Περὶ ἀκροπό]λεως δ[. . . . .] ἀναγραφ[. . . . .] τὸν Μελησίου [υἱόν, Στε]φάνου δὲ τοῦ Κο[αλέμου ⟨καλου⟩]μένου πατέρα, [οὗτοι?] δὲ τὸν συγγραφ[έα μέν] φασιν Ὀλόρου υἱ[όν, τρί?]τον δὲ τὸν Φαρσ[άλιον.] περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ [τοῦ Στε]φάνου πατρὸς κ[αὶ Πλά]των φησὶν ἐν τ[ῷ Μέ]νωνι οὕτως· [' ὅτι Θου]κυδίδης δύο [υἱεῖς ἔθρε]ψεν Μελησία[ν καὶ Στέ]φανον· τούτοι[ς ἐπαίδευ]σεν.' καὶ Ἕρμιπ[πος ὁ ποι]ητὴς ἐν Ἰαπε[τῷ λέγει . . .

'That . . . and Polemon in the [.] book *Concerning the Acropolis* do not . . . Thucydides . . . the son of Melesias and father of Stephanus called the Stupid; but they say that the historian was the son of Olorus, and a third was the Pharsalian. With regard to the father

of Stephanus Plato also says in the *Meno* "That Thucydides brought up two sons, Melesias and Stephanus; these he educated". And Hermippus the poet in the *Iapetus* says . . .'

121–30.] *ὁ ἐν τῇ* Ἰωνο[*ς* Ὀμφ]*άλῃ κατ' ἀρχὴν λεγόμε*[*νο*]*ς* Ἡρακλέους *βόρειος* [*ἵπ*]*πος οὗτως·*

'ὅρων μὲν [*ἤ*]*δη Πέλοπος ἐξελαύ*[*νο*]*μεν,*
Ἑρμῆ, βόρειον [*ἵπ*]*πον· ἄ*{*ι*}*νεται δ' ὁδός.'*

[*διαλ*]*έλυκε δ' αὐτὸ Μνα*[*σέας ὁ?*] *Παταρ*[*εὺς ἐ*]*ν τῷ* [*Περὶ χ*]*ρησμῶ*[*ν* . . .

'. . . the northern horse of Heracles mentioned at the beginning of the *Omphale* of Ion thus: "At length from the boundaries of Pelops we drive forth, O Hermes, the northern horse, and the road is finished." Mnaseas of Patara in his work *Concerning Oracles* has solved the difficulty . . .'

146–52. *'. . . καὶ?*] *σύ, γύναι, τίνος ἔ*⟨*κ*⟩*γονος εὔχ*[*ε*]*αι εἶναι;'*
καὶ τ[*ὰ ἑ*]*ξῆς, καὶ ὡς ἐκτίθετ*[*αι* Ἀρκτῖ?]*νος ὅλον αὐτῆ*[*ς τὸν*] *θάνατον. καὶ ὁ* [. . . . .]*δης δὲ τὸν τρ*[. .] . [. . . *ἐν*] *τ*[*ῷ*] *ε'* [.]*ια*[. .]*α*[. . .

'"... and thou, lady, from whom dost thou boast thy descent?" and so on, and that Arctinus relates her death in full, and . . . . . des in the 5th book of . . .'

160–76.]*ραις Φ*[*ρύ*]*ν*[*ιχος* . . . . .] *ἀφηγο*[*ύ*]*μεν*[*ος* . . . . .]· *Πα*[*λ*]*λά*[*δα περσέπολιν κλῄζ*]*ω π*[*ολεμαδόκο*]*ν ἀγνὰν π*[*αῖδα Διὸς*] *μεγάλου δ*[*αμάσιπ*]*πον' οὕτω παρα*[*ποιεῖ?*] *διαποροῦσι γὰρ οἱ*[*κ ὀ*]*λίγοι π*[*ε*]*ρὶ τ*[*ού*]*των, κα*[*θ*]*άπερ Χαμαιλέων, πότερόν ποτε Στη*[*σι*]*χόρου ἐστὶν ἢ Λαμπροκλ*[*έο*]*υς, κ*[*αίπ*]*ερ τοῦ* [*Φρυν*[*ίχου Λαμ*]*προκλεῖ μα*[*θη*⟨*τῇ*⟩ *Μίδωνος?*] *προσνέμον*[*τος. καὶ?* Ἀ]*ριστοφάνης* [*δὲ? παραπ*]*οιεῖ λέγων* '*Παλλάδα*] *π*[*ε*]*ρσε*[*π*]*ο*[*λιν δεινάν*' . . .

'. . . Phrynichus relating . . . "To Pallas destroyer of cities I call, to the sustainer of war, the pure, the child of great Zeus, the horsetamer" thus introduces (?) it. For not a few, like Chamaeleon, are in doubt whether this was formerly written by Stesichorus or by Lamprocles, though Phrynichus attributes it to Lamprocles the pupil of Midon (?). Aristophanes also introduces it saying "To Pallas destroyer of cities, the terrible" . . .'

219–28. . . . *Νάξ*[*ιοι?* . . . . . *ἐν με*]*ταιχ*[*μίῳ?* . . . . . .] *τὰ τῶν Θρα*[*κῶν* . . . .] *μεθ*⟨*ῆ*⟩*καν. ἀ*[*ποκομισάμ*]*ενοι δὲ τὸν* Ἀ[*ριστό?*]*δημον εἰς τὴν Π*[*άρον?*] *ᾐτιῶντο περὶ τούτ*[*ων*] *οἱ Πάριοι, καὶ εἰς δι*[*κα*]*στήριον εἰσαγαγόν*[*τες*] *ἀπέκτειναν.*

'. . . the Naxians . . . is a disputed frontier . . . the Thracians . . . released him. The Parians carried off Aristodemus to Paros and censured him for this, and after bringing him to trial put him to death.'

23–7. Fr. 26, where in l. 329] $\overline{\beta}$ *κρ*[*ιται* can be restored (cf. ll. 31–2), is perhaps to be placed at the bottom of Col. i, as Allen suggests.

29.]*ς αντι*[: the division of these letters is uncertain. *η* can be read instead of *ι*.

30.]*ον*: *εν* can equally well be read. All that is visible before *ν* is a spot of ink in about the middle of the line.]*αν* is impossible, and other vowels are improbable.

ε . ερα .: except in *ρα*, only the bottoms of the letters are preserved. The first seems to be *ε* or *σ* and [*ι*] may be lost between it and the second, which is rather more like *ε*, *θ*, or *σ* than e.g. *γ* or *ι*, and does not come below the line as far as *τ* usually does in this hand. The third must be *ε*, *ο*, or *σ*, and the last can be *γ*, *η*, *ι*[*ς*], *κ*, *μ*, *ν*, or *π*. Cf. the next n.

ημας: the first person is not found elsewhere in **1611**, and *ημας δυοντας* can hardly be right, though possibly the participle is to be corrected to *λυοντας* or *δ*⟨*ιαλ*⟩*υοντας*: cf. l. 128 [*δια*]*λέλυκε*. The present active of *δύειν* is very rare outside epic poetry. *μα* suits the vestiges very well; the lacuna between these two broken letters could take [*ι*], but not [*ερ*]. As was suggested by Prof. Rostowzew, it is better to divide *δυ*(*ο*) *οντας* and regard *ημας . . . κριτας* as

a quotation from a comedy. The preceding words can also be an iambic line, ending *νυν σε οραν*. Cf. also ll. 23–7, n.

35. *ε̄*: for 5 judges at contests of comedies cf. Schol. Ar. *Birds* 445 *ἔκριναν κριταὶ τοὺς κωμικούς. οἱ δὲ λαμβάνοντες τὰς ἐ ψήφους εὐδαιμόνουν*, Hesych. *πέντε κριταί· τοσοῦτοι τοῖς κωμικοῖς ἔκρινον οὐ μόνον Ἀθήνησιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ*, Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 64 *ἐν πέντε κριτῶν γούνασι κεῖται· . . . πέντε κριταὶ τοὺς κωμικοὺς ἔκρινον, ὥς φησι Ἐπίχαρμος*, which is copied by Suidas. The difficulty is that 4 judges (l. 32) at contests of comedies are not attested at any period, and what '40' refers to is very obscure. Apart from the references quoted concerning Comedy, the question of the number of judges at dramatic contests and the method of selection is not yet very clear; cf. Müller, *Lehrb. d. griech. Bühnenalt.* 368–72. In Plut. *Cimon* 8 the ten strategi appear as judges in a contest at which Sophocles won the first prize; but it is generally supposed that there were normally 5 judges for tragedies as well as for comedies, and these were in both cases selected by lot from a larger body of 10, i.e. 1 for each tribe, this body of 10 having been chosen by lot from a much larger number, of which the size is unknown. But it is not satisfactory to identify the '40' with the largest body. The number '5' in connexion with contests of comedies might also refer to the contending poets, of whom 5 are attested in the time of Aristophanes and in the second century B.C. (cf. Müller, *op. cit.* 321), and these might be connected with *του?]ς αντι[* in l. 29 and be contrasted with *ημας δυ οντας*, not with *τεσσαρας και τους κριτας*. Owing to the loss of the beginning we are unable to suggest a satisfactory explanation of the passage; but in view of (1) the common use of *κριταί* in connexion with dramatic contests in particular, and (2) the two references to Old Comedy, it remains probable that contests of comedies are in some way meant. Of the *Bacchae* of Lysippus, which seems to have been his most popular play, six fragments are known, and of Cratinus' *Πλοῦτοι* nine.

38. *[ο]τι*: cf. l. 101. The papyrus is not broken, but no trace of *ο* is visible; it has more probably been obliterated than omitted by mistake. *τι* might be the beginning of a section of a work in the style of Aristotle's *Problems*, but does not suit *τουτο* in l. 42; cf. the next n.

42. *τουτο*, we think, refers to the following quotation, like *ουτως* in ll. 56 and 115. There is no marginal indication of the beginning of a quotation here, as there is commonly elsewhere (cf. p. 129); but *και ουτος* is unintelligible as part of our author's commentary. Where the Theophrastus quotation ends is not quite clear. It might stop after *Καινευς* in l. 46, or *απολυσο[ι* in l. 54, or *αποθνησκει* in l. 83, where the Acusilaus quotation in any case ends and there are strokes in the margin, or even after *Καινεα* in l. 85. That ll. 85–100 belong to Theophrastus is very unlikely, their subject being irrelevant to his treatise. We adopt l. 46 as the dividing-point between the Theophrastus quotation and our author's comment. If Theophrastus had quoted the long Acusilaus extract, which is not in itself likely, an allusion to the latter would rather have been expected at the beginning of the section, and below l. 46 a paragraphus or other critical sign may have been lost.

46. *αξιον* is a mistake for *αξιων*. Cf. p. 130.

49–52. The ends of these lines are on a fragment which was originally separate, but is very suitably placed here, though there is no external indication that it belongs to the top of a column. *α[λλο]ι* is inadmissible in ll. 49–50. *π[ρος] της* in l. 51 is not at all satisfactory in the apparent sense of *κατά* with the accusative, but *π[ερι]* is no improvement, and a preposition is required. *μ* and *ν* are the only alternatives to *π*, *δ[ια* being thus excluded and *μ[ετα* being also unsatisfactory.

53. *ι* can equally well be read in place of the *τ* of *καταλ[εγομενης*, but *και αλ[λων* (with *του* instead of *υπ* in l. 52) makes l. 53 much shorter than the preceding lines, though not much shorter than l. 54 if *απολυσο[ι* there is right. *απολυσο[σθαι* is possible as far as the size of the lacuna is concerned, but would make l. 54 unusually long.

55. Καινεα : or Καινεω[ς.

56. ⳨ in the margin, marking the beginning of the quotation, probably, as Allen suggests, means χρ(ῆσις), i.e. 'passage'; cf. Dion. Hal. *De rhet.* 4 and Apoll. Dysc. *De synt.* i. 119. It also occurs in *Anecd. Oxon.* ii. 452. 19 ⳨ Ἀριστοφάνους (= *Birds* 1180), and in the *Anecd. Parisinum de notis* (Bergk, *Zeitschr. f. Alter.* 1845, 88) along with the obelus, which occurs in l. 116 of the papyrus, also apparently to indicate a quotation, for which the usual sign in papyri is the diple, e.g. in **405** (Part iii, Plate i). The obelus is explained in the *Anecd. Paris.* in accordance with its usual sense of indicating an error; of ⳨ the writer says *chi et ro: haec sola vix ad voluntatem uniuscuiusque ad aliquid notandum ponitur.*

Καινηι: Καινίς, not Καινή, is the feminine form of Καινεύς elsewhere; cf. Phleg. Fr. 34 οἱ αὐτοὶ (sc. Hesiod, Dicaearchus, Clearchus, Callimachus and others) *ἱστοροῦσι κατὰ τὴν Λαπιθῶν χώραν γενέσθαι Ἐλάτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ θυγατέρα ὀνομαζομένην Καινίδα· ταύτῃ δὲ Ποσειδῶνα μιγέντα ἐπαγγείλασθαι ποιήσειν αὐτὴν ὃ ἂν ἐθέλῃ, τὴν δὲ ἀξιῶσαι μεταλλάξαι αὐτὴν εἰς ἄνδρα, ποιῆσαί τε ἄτρωτον. τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος κατὰ τὸ ἀξιωθὲν ποιήσαντος μετονομασθῆναι Καινέα.* Ovid, who describes at considerable length Caeneus' death in *Metam.* xii. 172 sqq., also has *Caenis*. Acusilaus' work was largely based on Hesiod, and the story of Caeneus may have been derived from the poet, though in the extant remains of Hesiod Caeneus is mentioned only in *Scut.* 179 among the list of the chiefs of the Lapithae. Homer also has only one mention of him, Λ 264 Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον, on which Schol. A remarks *ὁ Καινεὺς Ἐλάτου μὲν ἦν παῖς, Λαπιθῶν δὲ βασιλεύς, πρότερον ἦν παρθένος εὐπρεπής,* **μιγέντος δὲ αὐτῇ Ποσειδῶνος,** *αἰτησαμένη μεταβαλεῖν εἰς ἄνδρα ἡ νεᾶνις* **ἄτρωτος γίνεται, γενναιότατος τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ὑπάρξας.** *καὶ δή ποτε πήξας* **ἀκόντιον** *ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς θεὸν τοῦτο προσέταξεν ἀριθμεῖν. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν* **ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Ζεὺς** *τιμωρίαν τῆς ἀσεβείας παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰσεπράξατο. μαχόμενον γὰρ αὐτὸν τοῖς Κενταύροις καὶ ἄτρωτον ὄντα ὑποχείριον ἐποίησε· βαλόντες γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ προειρημένοι δρυσί τε καὶ ἐλάταις ἤρεισαν εἰς γῆν. μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναυτικοῖς* (i. 59), *λέγων οὕτως· Καινέα γὰρ δὴ πρόσθεν ἔτι κλείουσιν ἀοιδοὶ Κενταύροισιν ὀλέσθαι, ὅτε σφέας οἷος ἀπ' ἄλλων ἤλασ' ἀριστήων· οἱ δ' ἔμπαλιν ὁρμηθέντες οὔτε μιν ἀγκλῖναι προτέρω σθένον οὔτε δαΐξαι, ἀλλ' ἄρρηκτος ἄκαμπτος ἐδύσατο νειόθι γαίης, θεινόμενος στιβαρῇσι καταΐγδην ἐλάτῃσιν.* Eustathius' comment on the verse is very similar *ὁ δὲ μῦθος φύσει ἄτρωτον αὐτὸν εἶναί φησι, πλάττων καὶ ὅτι παρθένος εὐπρεπὴς ποτε γεγόνοι, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος αὐτῇ μιγέντος, αἰτησαμένη ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι καὶ ἄτρωτος μεῖναι, ὧν ἤθελεν ἔτυχε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὑπερφρονῆσαι. ἀκόντιον γάρ, φασιν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ πήξας εἰς ὀρθὸν θεὸν τοῦτο προσέταξεν ἀριθμεῖν. ὅθεν ἡ δίκη ποινὴν αὐτὸν ἀσεβείας εἰσπραττομένη πεποίηκεν ὑπὸ τοῖς Κενταύροις, οἳ δρυσί τε καὶ ἐλάταις εἰς γῆν ἤρεισαν ἄρρηκτον καὶ ἄκαμπτον δύντα ὑπὸ γῆν, θεινόμενον στιβαραῖς καταΐγδην ἐλάταις, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλώνιος.* Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 59 has *μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τὸν Καινέα πρότερον γεγοιέναι γυναῖκα, εἶτα Ποσειδῶνος αὐτῇ πλησιάσαντος μεταβληθῆναι εἰς ἄνδρα. τοῦτο γὰρ ᾔτησε καὶ ἀτρωσίαν. ἤρισε δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἐνικήθη. οὗτος ἔκελευε τοὺς παριόντας ὀμνύναι εἰς τὸ δόρυ αὐτοῦ· ἔνθεν ἡ παροιμία τὸ Καινέως δόρυ. τινὲς δέ φασι Καινέα συμπλεῦσαι τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις, οὐ Κόρωνον. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος παρὰ Πινδάρου εἴληφε λέγοντος, ὁ δὲ χλωρῇς ἐλάτῃσι τυπεὶς ᾤχετο Καινεὺς σχίσας ὀρθῷ ποδὶ γᾶν* (=Pind. Fr. 167 Schroeder). *τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ συνέβη διὰ τὸ μήτε θύειν μήτε εὔχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δόρατι.* **διὸ Ζεὺς ἐφορμᾷ αὐτῷ τοὺς Κενταύρους,** **οἵτινες κατὰ γῆν αὐτὸν ὠθοῦσιν.** Agatharchides' description (*De mari Eryth.* 7) is *ἔτι Καινέα τὸν Λαπίθην τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρθένον καὶ γυναῖκα, ἡβήσαντα δὲ εἰς ἄνδρα μεταστῆναι, τὸ δ' ὕστατον εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τῶν Κενταύρων καταδῦναι ταῖς ἐλάταις τυπτόμενον,* **ὀρθόν τε καὶ ζῶντα.** The connexion between some of these passages and the Acusilaus extract is very close, especially in the earlier part of Schol. A on A 264 (followed by Eustathius), and the later part of Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 59, where Acusilaus is either slightly paraphrased or reproduced. Evidently Acusilaus was the chief authority for the Caeneus legend, though e.g. the details about the request to be made into a man, which are absent in Acusilaus and are elaborated in Schol. Luc. *Gall.* 19 somewhat differently, are probably derived from another mythologist.

59. ιερον: a diaeresis above ι may be lost. Acusilaus' remark seems very naïve in the light of the number of legends about children of the gods by mortals; and it is not surprising that in ll. 85–100, the union of gods and mortals is further discussed by our author with a parallel from Euripides.

τεκέν: most of the fourth letter has disappeared in a lacuna; but after κ is part of a stroke which suits the beginning of ε, and the end of a horizontal stroke joining the middle of ν survives, which excludes τεκειν, the ordinary Ionic form, found e. g. in Hdt. vi. 131, but of course with a circumflex accent. τεκέειν is an altogether impossible reading, though parallels for such a form are not wanting in Hdt.; cf. Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, § 602. τεκέεν is just possible as a reading, but much less probable than τεκέν, because (1) the lacuna is not large enough for εε with cross-bars as long as that in the ε after τ, (2) the accent, with the reading εε, would really be on the second ε, not the first, where it ought to have been placed, (3) though the Ionic second aorist infinitive in εῖν is ultimately derived from -έεν (cf. Smyth, *l. c.*), that form of the infinitive is not found in either Hdt. or Ionic inscriptions, any more than in the MSS. of Homer, so that Acusilaus, though a writer of considerable antiquity, is not at all likely to have used the form τεκέεν, nor would the corrector of the papyrus have been likely to ascribe it to him by error. τεκέν is a Doric form, parallel to ἐξελέν, ἀγαγέν, &c. (cf. Kühner-Blass, *Gramm.* i. 2, p. 58), and, the present extract being the sole authority for Acusilaus' dialect, does not require to be altered to τεκεῖν, especially since Dorisms tend to occur in Ionic, and the corrector has put the right accent on the form, not merely omitted ι.

εκεινου: i. e. Poseidon, as is clear from εξ αλλου ουδενος, in spite of the confusion of genders in l. 61. Cf. also Plut. *Thes.* 20 τεκεῖν ἐκ Θησέως Ἀριάδνην Οἰνοπίωνα.

61. αυτον: l. αυτην.

63. [με]γ[σ]ν[η]ν: cf. γενναιότατος τῶν καθ' αὑτόν in Schol. A quoted in l. 56, n.

66. κεντοιη: or κεντοι η. Herodotus avoids optatives in -ιη and does not contract -εοι after a consonant, so that Acusilaus' usage was in any case not parallel to his. φοροίη occurs in Homer ι 320, πλουτοίη in Tyrtaeus, συμμαρτυροίη in Solon, δοκοίη in Heraclitus, while Hippocrates prefers -οιη to -εοι. On the other hand Theognis has φιλοῖ, and 'even in prose there is ample support for οι after consonants as well as after vowels' (Smyth, *op. cit.* p. 531; cf. § 651).

67–8. μαλιστα χρηματων: the lexicons do not afford any parallels for this expression.

73–4. For the suggested restoration of these lines cf. the scholiasts quoted in l. 56, n.

75. The letter following ηε can be ν. σι δ ου και ε . [is inadmissible, ει being the only alternative to η. No word meaning 'worshipped' seems suitable, and θεοι]σι δ κτλ. is apparently to be connected with what follows rather than with the preceding sentence, so that a word meaning 'pleasing' would be appropriate (ηεν [ηδυ?).

80. ορειον is evidently a mistake for ορθιον, as remarked by Allen; cf. ὀρθῷ ποδί in the Pindar fragment and ὀρθόν in Agatharchides, both quoted in l. 56, n. The Ionic form of ὄρειον would be ουρειον, and that word is quite inappropriate here.

84. τι is for το.

85–6. A predicate for δυναται would be expected in place of δια τουτου, e. g. τουτο or ισον.

87–93. Of Euripides' Ἀλκμέων ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου only three fragments are known with certainty (Frs. 74, 75, 77 Nauck), but the argument of it is described by Apollodorus iii. 7. 7, who calls the children in question (Amphilochus and Tisiphone) παῖδας δύο, not twins as in l. 92. Their mother (the παρθένος of l. 93) was Manto, daughter of Tiresias, and the θεός of l. 89 is evidently Apollo; cf. Apollod. iii. 7. 4 πέμπουσιν Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τὴν Τειρεσίου θυγατέρα Μαντώ, and *Ep.* 6. 3, where in a different legend Mopsus is called the son of Apollo and Manto.

97. The verb in the apodosis may well have been δηλοῦται, as Rostowzew suggests.

101–11. The restoration of ll. 102–3 Πολεμων . . . ακροπο]λεως is due to Stuart Jones; cf. int. and Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.* §§ 16–17 ὅτι γὰρ Ὄλορός ἐστιν ἡ στήλη δηλοῖ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ κειμένη, ἔνθα κεχάρακται· Θουκυδίδης Ὀλόρου Ἁλιμούσιος (in § 55 the inscription is quoted on the authority of Antyllus). πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμώνια μνήματα, ἔνθα δείκνυται Ἡροδότου καὶ Θουκυδίδου τάφος. εὑρίσκεται ⟨δὴ?⟩ δῆλον ὅτι τοῦ Μιλτιάδου γένους ὤν· ξένος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖ θάπτεται. καὶ Πολέμων δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀκροπόλεως τούτοις μαρτυρεῖ, ἔνθα καὶ Τιμόθεον υἱὸν αὐτῷ γεγενῆσθαι προσιστορεῖ, and § 28 ἐγένοντο Θουκυδίδαι πολλοί, οὗτός τε ὁ Ὀλόρου παῖς καὶ δεύτερος δημαγωγός, Μελησίου, ὃς καὶ Περικλεῖ διεπολιτεύσατο· τρίτος δὲ γένει Φαρσάλιος, οὗ μέμνηται Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ἀκροπόλεως, φάσκων αὐτὸν εἶναι πατρὸς Μένωνος. There were four books of the Περὶ ἀκροπ. according to Strabo ix. p. 396. The letter following δη in l. 102 is very uncertain, only a spot of ink at the bottom of the line being preserved, which indicates an angular letter (α or λ) or else one beginning with a vertical stroke (e. g. μ, ν, or π) rather than a round letter such as σ. ἀναγραφ[in l. 105 (ψ is the only alternative for φ) suggests an inscription about Thucydides son of Melesias and father of Stephanus, parallel to that apparently mentioned by Polemon in the same work with reference to the historian; and in fact Athen. vi. 234 d states that Polemon γράψας περὶ παρασίτων φησὶν οὕτως· . . . ἐν Κυνοσάργει μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ στήλη τίς ἐστιν, ἐν ᾗ ψήφισμα μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου, γραμματεὺς δὲ Στέφανος Θουκυδίδου . . . This stele may well be identified with or connected with the ἀναγραφή here, especially since the paternity of Stephanus seems to the point with which our author is most concerned (cf. ll. 112 sqq.); but the Athenaeus quotation is generally assigned to Polemon's Περὶ ὀνομάτων ἀδόξων ἐπιστολή (Athen. ix. 409 d), and Polemon was there clearly concerned with the meaning of παράσιτος, not with Thucydides, so that in any case our author's reference to Polemon Περὶ ἀκροπόλεως was not to the passage quoted by Athenaeus. For Κο[αλεμου in l. 107 (suggested by Allen) cf. Plut. *Cimon* 4 Κίμων δὲ . . . καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Κίμωνι προσεοικὼς τὴν φύσιν, ὃν δι' εὐήθειάν φασι Κοάλεμον προσαγορευθῆναι, and Aeschines Socraticus quoted by Athen. v. 220 b Ἱππόνικον μὲν τὸν Καλλίου Κοάλεμον προσαγορεύει. The ο is nearly certain, but it is necessary to suppose the omission of καλου owing to homoioteleuton. Upon the restoration of the end of l. 108 depends the sense of the whole passage. Starting from the fact that Polemon according to Marcellinus mentioned both Thucydides the historian and Thuc. the Pharsalian (a proxenus of the Athenians in 411 B. C.; cf. Thuc. viii. 92) in the Περὶ ἀκροπ., we think that φασι in l. 110 includes Polemon (l. 102), and therefore in ll. 101–2 the name of another author is to be supplied, to which δη .[in l. 102 may belong, [ουτοι in l. 108 referring to both names. For τρι]τον in l. 110 cf. Marcellinus § 28 quoted above. The general sense of ll. 101–11 seems to be that Polemon Περὶ ἀκροπ. and another author referred to not one Thucydides only (ἕνα or ἑνικῶς may have followed οὐχ in l. 101) on the evidence of an inscription (? δι'], or ἐξ], ἀναγραφ[ῶν in ll. 104–5), but to three in all. A mention of Thucydides by name is expected before l. 106, and Θουκυδι]δην can well be restored in ll. 101–2 (in which case there is room for only a very short name after it before και, and τον in l. 106 is probably αυ]τον), or Θουκυδιδην] | τον can be read in ll. 105–6; but a restoration of the whole passage is scarcely possible. The hypothesis that ουχ qualifies the whole sentence and the point is that Polemon did not mention (δηλ[οι could be read in l. 102) the son of Melesias, but only the other two persons called Thucydides, is unsatisfactory, for though Marcellinus does not refer to Polemon in connexion with the son of Melesias, Polemon of course knew about the politician, and αναγραφ[does not at all suggest that ουχ is to be connected with a verb meaning 'mentioned'. A different sense would be obtained by restoring [αλλοι in l. 108 as the subject of φασι, contrasted with Πολεμων in l. 102, who would then stand by himself. To get rid of the supposed author coupled with Polemon is an advantage, but with τρι]τον in l. 110 the passage would then produce a marked conflict with Marcellinus' statements that

Polemon referred to the historian and the Pharsalian in the Περὶ ἀκροπ. This difficulty could be somewhat lessened by restoring τον][τον instead of τρι][τον in l. 110, and supposing the general sense to be that Polemon identified a certain Thucydides with the son of Melesias, while others maintained that he was the Pharsalian. But the reference to the son of Olorus then becomes rather pointless, especially in view of the circumstance that Polemon is known from Marcellinus to have produced evidence for the ancestry of the historian.

113–19 Cf. *Meno* 94 c ἐνθυμήθητι ὅτι Θουκυδίδης κτλ. One MS. (F) has ὁ Θουκ., which is possible here, and before τουτους in l. 118 the MSS. insert καί. A similar passage occurs in the Pseudo-Platonic Περὶ ἀρετῆς 378 a, where it is stated with regard to Melesias and Stephanus τὸν γ' ἕτερον μέχρι γήρως βιοῦντα, τὸν δ' ἕτερον πόρρω πάνυ. Melesias is a character in the *Laches*, but nothing more is known about Stephanus, except the inscription discussed in the preceding n. For the obelus against l. 116 cf. l. 56, n.

119–20. Ερμιπ[πος ο ποι]ητης; the title is added to distinguish him from the philosopher, ὁ Καλλιμάχειος. The poet was older than Eupolis and Aristophanes according to Suidas. The titles of nine of his comedies are known, but not the *Iapetus*.

121. Ιωνο[ς Ομφ]αλη: the *Omphale* was a satyric drama, of which sixteen fragments are known. Another quotation from it perhaps occurred in ll. 277 sqq.

123. ⟨υφ⟩ Ηρακλεους should perhaps be read, Heracles being then the speaker of the two lines; cf. l. 89 λεγομενον υπο θεου. As the text stands, the subject of εξελαυ[νο]μεν may be the satyrs, not Heracles. With βορειος [ιπ]πος (so Allen) cf. Homer Υ 221 sqq. τοῦ τρισχίλιαι ἵπποι . . . τάων καὶ Βορέης ἠράσσατο βοσκομενάων. Perhaps Βορειος should be written.

124–5. ορων . . . Πελοπος: cf. Fr. 24 (Nauck) of the *Omphale* καὶ Σαρδιανὸν κόσμον εἰδέναι χροὸς ἄμεινον ἢ τὸν Πέλοπος ἐν νήσῳ τρόπον. The scene of the *Omphale* was laid in Lydia (cf. Frs. 22, 23, 27). Possibly Heracles had been sent by Omphale to fetch one of the horses sprung from Boreas which belonged to Pelops; cf. the legend of the capture of the horses of Diomedes, which Heracles gave to Eurystheus (Apollod. ii. 5. 8). But the plot of the *Omphale* is very obscure.

127. αἴνεται, which would mean 'is winnowed', is obviously an error for ἄνεται: cf. e.g. Homer Κ 251 μαλὰ γὰρ νὺξ ἄνεται.

128. [διαλ]ελυκε δ: on the analogy of the preceding lines two letters before λ]ελυκε would be preferable, but probably the column sloped away a little to the left, though ο in l. 129 can be omitted. [και λ]ελυκε δ is also possible, the simple verb as well as διαλύειν being used for solving difficulties. Cf. for καὶ . . . δέ ll. 174–5, n.

128–9. Μνα[σεας ο?] Παταρ[ευς: cf. int. and Susemihl i. 679. **1611** agrees with the scholia on Hesiod, Pindar, and Lucian in giving Patara (in Lycia) as his birthplace, while the MSS. of Athenaeus and Photius call him ὁ Πατρεύς, i.e. from Patrae in Achaea, but in the light of **1611** are to be emended to ὁ Παταρεύς. With regard to the title of his work on oracles Schol. Pindar, *Ol.* ii. 70 calls it Περὶ χρησμῶν, while Schol. Hesiod, *Theog.* 117 calls it ἡ τῶν Δελφικῶν χρησμῶν συναγωγή. **1611** seems to agree with the former, but τη[ι των χ]ρησμω[ν συναγωγει is a possible reading.

135–43. The coronis after l. 138 probably indicates a following quotation (cf. l. 115 and int. p. 129), to which θαρσει in l. 141 may well belong. Allen suggests Πενθε[σιλεια . . . . in l. 139 and θαρσει Π[ενθεσιλεια in l. 141, i.e. a quotation from the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus, which is perhaps cited in ll. 145–50; cf. ll. 148–9, n. But ως (probably ὡς) εμ in l. 142 does not suit this hypothesis, and the colour of Frs. 3 and 4 is different, so that a connexion between them is unlikely. Lines 136–8 might also be hexameters, as Allen remarks, e.g. ον παι[ερα κλησασ(α)] ο δε θα[. . .

146. εγγον[ος: this spelling of ἔκγονος occurs in Attic inscriptions down to 300 B.C. and in Ptolemaic inscriptions and papyri (cf. Mayser, *Gramm. d. griech. Pap.* p. 228); but is not legitimate in hexameters.

148–9. Αρ[κτι?]νος : [Αχ?]αιος can equally well be read, or possibly [. .]λιος. Achaeus wrote tragedies entitled Ἄδραστος, Ἀζᾶνες, Ἄθλα, Ἀλφεσίβοια, Θησεύς, Κύκνος, Μοῖραι, Μῶμος, Οἰδίπους, Πειρίθους, Φιλοκτήτης, and Φρίξος, one of which may have described the death of the woman in question ; but if the author mentioned in l. 149 also wrote the hexameter verse quoted in l. 146 (which is probable, but not clear), he is not likely to have been Achaeus. With Αρ κτι]νος (Allen) the quotation would come from the *Aethiopis*, the woman being Penthesilea and the speaker presumably Achilles ; cf. ll. 135–43, n. εκτιθετ[αι may, however, end l. 148.

150–2. It is not possible to restore Σιμωνι]δης . . . τ[ω] ε̄ [πα]ια[νων.

154. Not more than one line, if any, is lost before the top of the column, twenty-four lines being accounted for, if Fr. 43, which is referred to the middles of ll. 160–2 a, is rightly placed, as is practically certain. That Fr. 5 belongs to the upper part of the column of which Fr. 6. i is the bottom is indicated by the colour of the verso besides the suitability of the resulting restoration.

158–9. κα]θα[περ φησιν Ερατοσθε]νης (Allen) can be restored ; cf. ll. 162–5, n. and int.

160. Φ[ρυ]ν[ιχος : cf. l. 171. εν | ταις Φ[ρυ]ν[ιχου ωδαις | αφηγο[υ]μεν[ου is unlikely on account of the verb in l. 165 (παρα[ποιει ?).

161. Perhaps αφηγο[υ]μεν[ος ουτως.

162–5. Cf. Ar. *Clouds* 967 ἢ ‘Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινὰν’ ἢ ‘τηλέπορόν τι βόαμα’, where Schol. RV have ἀρχὴ ᾄσματος Φρυνίχου, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησίν (φη. ὡς Ἐρ. Φρυν. V). Φρύνιχος (δὲ V, om. R) αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ ᾄσματος μνημονεύει ὡς Λαμπροκλέους ὄντος Παλλάδα περσέπτολιν κλήιζω πολεμαδόκον ἀγνὰν παῖδα Διὸς μεγάλου, and Schol. Ald. has . . . Λαμπροκλέους εἶναί φασιν Ἀθηναίου, τοῦ Μίδωνος υἱοῦ. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· Παλλάδα περσέπολιν κτλ., as in Schol. RV, but adding δαμάσιππον after μεγάλου. ἄλλως. οὕτως Ἐρατοσθένης· Φρύνιχος αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ ᾄσματος μέμνηται ὡς Λαμπροκλέους ὄντος τοῦ Μίδωνος υἱοῦ ἢ μαθητοῦ· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινὴν θεὸν ἐγρεκύδοιμον ποτικλήιζω πολεμαδόκον ἀγνὰν παῖδα Διὸς μεγάλου δαμάσιππον, καὶ κατὰ Λαμπροκλέα ὑποτίθησι κατὰ λέξιν. Schol. Aristid. 217 Dindorf (in reference to the Aristophanes line) has εἶδος τοῦτο ᾄσματος καὶ ἀρχή· τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν αὐτοῦ Ῥοῦφος καὶ Διονύσιος (time of Hadrian) ἱστοροῦσιν ἐν τῆι Μουσικῆι (sc. ἱστορίαι) Φρύνιχόν τινα, ἄλλοι δέ φασι Λαμπροκλέα ἢ Στησίχορον. τὸ δὲ ‘δεινὴν’ ἀντὶ τοῦ κλήσω κεῖται παρὰ τῶι κωμικῶι· τὸ γὰρ ᾆσμα οὕτως ἔχει ‘Παλλάδα περσέπολιν κλήσω πολεμαδόκον ἀγνὰν παῖδα Διὸς μεγάλου δαμάσιππον (δαμνηπλον or δαμνηπωλον MSS.) ἅιστον (corrupt) παρθένον. These passages are discussed by Wilamowitz, *Textgesch. d. griech. Lyr.* 84–5. There were evidently at least two versions of the hymn. **1611** agrees with the version in the first note in Schol. Ald., which is really the same as that of Schol. RV and Schol. Aristid., the former scholium merely omitting δαμάσιππον and the latter having κλήσω for κλήιζω and adding two words at the end. This, the shorter of the two versions, was that of Phrynichus, as is clear from **1611**, and was rightly stated by Schol. RV and Schol. Aristid., whereas the first note in Schol. Ald. wrongly assigned it to Lamprocles. The longer version, i. e. that of Lamprocles, with which Aristophanes' citation, so far as it goes, agrees, was given in the second note in Schol. Ald., where the authorship is not clearly indicated. None of the scholia makes it clear which Phrynichus is meant. The lyric and tragic poet was formerly supposed to be indicated, but now the Phrynichus in question whether understood or not by the scholiasts (cf. Wilamowitz, *l. c.*), is generally considered to be the comic poet. **1611** also makes no clear sign on this point, but the way in which Phrynichus and Aristophanes are coupled (παραποιεῖ is apparently used with regard to both ; cf. the next n.) favours the identification with the comic poet. The brief statements in Schol. RV may be derived from our author's fuller discussion, if he was reproducing Eratosthenes or, as is possible but not likely (cf. int.), was Eratosthenes himself. The other scholia do not seem to be specially connected with **1611**.

165. παρα[ποιει : cf. l. 175 παραπ]οιει. The word can mean either ‘imitate’ or ‘introduce’.

168. Χαμαιλεων: cf. p. 129. His work Περὶ κωμῳδίας is cited by Athen. ix. 374 a.

171. The omission of the superfluous ι is indicated by both a dot above it (cf. e.g. **1624**) and a stroke through it.

172–3. μα[θη⟨τη⟩ | Μιδωνος?]: μα may be at the end of the line, but μα[θητηι] does not fill the lacuna and is unintelligible. The suggested restoration is very doubtful, but brings the passage into connexion with Schol. Ald. on Ar. *Clouds* 967 (quoted in ll. 162–5, n.) Μίδωνος υἱοῦ ἢ μαθητοῦ, and there is no objection to μα[θη], if the last two letters were written small, as often happens at the end of a line. Schol. Plat. *Alcib.* i. 387 makes Lamprocles the pupil of Agathocles and teacher of Damon. μα[can hardly be an adjective of place, for Lamprocles was an Athenian.

174–5. For και . . . δε cf. ll. 128, n., 150–1, 228–9.

183. λαβ[: or λαθ[.

195. πνρ : cf. l. 306. But Fr. 7 does not belong to the same column as Frs. 21–2.

202. γνη| is perhaps γνη[σιος in some form. γιγνη|[ται cannot be read, ρ or ν being the only alternatives for τ.

212–14. Ελλανι]κος δ εν [ταις Εθνων?] κτισεσι: the restoration is due to Allen. The works variously entitled Περὶ ἐθνῶν, Ἐθνῶν ὁμοιασίαι, Κτίσεις, Κτίσεις ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων (Hellan. Fr. 109 from Steph. Byz.; **1611** seems to have had ἐθνῶν or πόλεων alone), and perhaps Περὶ Χίου κτίσεως, are all considered to be identical by Gudeman in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* viii. 136–7.

216. κ' for κ(αί) occurs as early as the end of the first century in the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία papyrus.

218–28. Cf. int. p. 129.

222–3. μεθικαν α[ποκομισα|μ?]ενοι δε: the vestige of the letter following καν is too slight to be a real clue, but suggests α or λ more than a letter beginning with a vertical stroke, or round. μεθ(ε)ικαν = μεθῆκαν is much more likely than μεθ ικαν .[(i.e. some part of ἱκανός), for there is hardly room for a substantive in l. 222 as well as the beginning of a participle. In Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 55. 6, ἀφείκεν is apparently a mere variation of spelling for ἀφῆκεν, which occurs in l. 13, not a perfect, as regarded by Mayser, *op. cit.* p. 331.

223. The correction is by the first hand; cf. p. 130. The reading of the letter after τον is very doubtful, but α or λ suits better than any other letter.

224. Π[αρον: cf. l. 226. But η, κ, μ, ν or γ .[or ι .[can be read in place of π.

228–9. Cf. ll. 174–5, n.

231. If the paragraphus is rightly placed (cf. however ll. 90–1, where it is not), αριστα[is not to be connected with ll. 232 sqq., so that Αριστα[ρχος is not very likely. Αριστο[φανης cannot be read.

245. εσχατοι[: the second letter might be γ or ι, the third α or λ, the last ν.

247. ο δε Ασση[: no personal name beginning thus is known, but there might be a reference to the places Ἄσσηρα or Ἀσσησός or adjectives derived from them. Neither Ασσις [nor Ασσιο[ς is admissible; Ασσιν[αρος (a river in Sicily so spelled in Thuc. vii. 84) is possible, but seems too long, even with ε]ι στρατευοι in l. 248, while Ασσιν[αρο]ν [σ]στρατευοι, which is possible as a reading, gives no construction. The division ας ση[(or σιν[) does not suggest any suitable word.

268. Perhaps Σιμ]ωνιδου.

270.]νναδο[: the third letter could be read as λ. The division πα?]νν αδο[is more probable than]ν ναδο[.

278. Possibly Ομφα]λην : cf. l. 121, n.

280. [Θεοδεκ]τ[η]ς : the tip of a vertical stroke below the line suits τ, and is inconsistent with the terminations of Καρκίνος, Εὐριπίδης, or Τιμησίθεος, who are the only other tragic poets known to have written an *Orestes*. Of Theodectes' play with that title only one line is extant.

281. ε above the line is cursively written; cf. p. 130.

283.]ιδ[.]μος δ[.: να is possible in place of ιδ, and α or λ instead of δ after]μος. Δ]ιδ[υ]μος δ[ε can be restored, but this line may belong to the quotation from the *Orestes*; cf. int. p. 129.

301. Λυσιπ[πος: cf. l. 34.

303.]ντρ[: Frs. 21 and 22 join here, the tail of the ρ being on Fr. 22.

306. πυρ: cf. l. 195, n.

327–31. Cf. ll. 23–7, n.

339. After τη is an erasure with perhaps one or two letters above it.

341. λιρ[is more likely to be connected with λείριον than with λιρός. It does not seem possible to read αιρ[.

359.]μαφυ[: possibly Ερ]μαφρ[οδιτ.

369–70. Allen suggests βασιλ]εως Φ[ιλοπατορος] (or Φ[ιλαδελφου) Πτολεμ[αιου: but if so the order of the words is unusual.

392–5. Fr. 43 has been assigned to ll. 160–2 a.

442. There is no other instance in **1611** of a stop in the middle position, and it is very doubtful whether Fr. 64 belongs to this papyrus.

1612. Oration on the Cult of Caesar.

28·2 × 12 cm. Third century.

This papyrus, which was found with **1606**–8, &c., and concludes the publication of the first of the three large finds of literary papyri in 1905–6 (cf. **1606**. int.), belongs to a speech of a novel character, the subject of it being the cult of a Roman Emperor, who is called simply 'Caesar'. One column of forty lines is fairly well preserved, and there are beginnings of lines of a second column, besides a small detached scrap, which does not seem to belong to Col. i. The handwriting is a not very elegant specimen of the sloping oval third-century type. The beginnings of the lines, which contain 15–20 letters, slope away to the left in a marked degree, and the ends are decidedly uneven. Paragraphi and frequent high stops occur. ι adscript is written in l. 27, but in l. 11 its insertion is doubtful. A correction in l. 12 is in a different hand, which used lighter ink, but seems to be not appreciably later than the first. In ll. 22–5 apparent corruptions have not been altered.

The main purport of the oration, so far as it can be ascertained, was the opposition of the speaker to the cult of Caesar as practised in his own city (l. 26 ἐνθάδε), or rather to certain extensions of it or novelties (cf. l. 1, n.) proposed by his adversaries. To Caesar-worship in general he does not seem to have been opposed, for in ll. 22 sqq. he expressly deprecates ἀσέβεια towards Caesar, and disclaims any wish to deprive him of the 'glory of immortality'. In addressing his audience he habitually used the second person plural (ll. 30 sqq.),

while his opponents are also spoken of in the plural (l. 11 *φασί*); but in l. 10 [*β*]*ούλοιτο* a single adversary seems to be indicated, and in l. 1 the second person singular is apparently used, with reference to an opponent more probably than to himself in an objection placed in the mouth of an adversary. The first six lines are too incomplete to be restored: a new sentence began in l. 7, as is shown by the paragraphus. The speaker refers to the rites performed in honour of Caesar, and strongly asserts his satisfaction that these were not invented by his fellow countrymen (*ἡμεῖς*), but at Nicaea by an individual whom he declines to describe (ll. 9–17). His argument is that this cult ought to be left to the Nicaeans, and that the observance of it at his own city would be as impious to Caesar as the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries at any other city than Athens would be to Demeter (ll. 17–29; this interpretation rests on two rather violent alterations in the text, which are, we think, absolutely necessitated by the context; cf. l. 22, n.). Evidently conscious that he was treading on dangerous ground, the orator then declares his intention of proving that his own views were not really derogatory to the immortality of Caesar (ll. 30–5); but the text becomes fragmentary at this point, a contrast being apparently drawn in ll. 35–40 between the previous and the existing cults at the city in question. From Col. ii nothing of importance can be gleaned.

The boldness of the speaker in dealing with so delicate a topic as Caesar-worship is striking, and one would gladly have learnt more of his views on this interesting subject. As the fragment stands, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to reconstruct the background of the situation with any approach to certainty. The first questions to arise are (1) what place was meant by *ἐνθάδε* in l. 26, and (2) which, if any particular emperor was meant by 'Caesar'? The reference to Nicaea as the starting-place of the cult to which the speaker objected suggests a connexion with the well-known description of the origin of Caesar-worship in Dio Cassius li. 20 Καῖσαρ δὲ *ἐν τούτῳ* (sc. 29 B.C.) *τά τε ἄλλα ἐχρημάτιζε καὶ τεμένη τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας ἔν τε Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφῆκεν. αὗται γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προετετίμηντο. καὶ τούτους μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποικοῦσι τιμᾶν προσέταξε· τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις* (Ἕλληνας σφᾶς *ἐπικαλέσας*) *ἑαυτῷ τινα, τοῖς μὲν Ἀσιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ, τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούει ἐγένετο.* Dio's statement that the temples at Pergamum and Nicomedia were dedicated to Augustus alone requires modification, since it conflicts with the statements of Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 37, that the temple at Pergamum was dedicated to Augustus and Rome, and of Suetonius, *Aug.* 52, that Rome was regularly associated with Augustus in the provincial cults; cf. Kornemann,

Klio, i. 98. The correspondence between the papyrus and Dio would be made most exact by supposing the speaker in **1612** to be a Roman (which is in any case probable), and 'Caesar' to be Julius throughout. ἐνθάδε, with which Nicaea is so vehemently contrasted, might well be Nicomedia; for the two cities were long engaged in feud on the question of the headship of Bithynia, and the dispute was sufficiently important to be the subject of an oration by Dio Chrysostom (no. 38), recommending his compatriots of Nicomedia to come to terms with Nicaea. The hypothesis that the speaker in **1612** was a Nicomedian would also accord very well with the reference in ll. 24–8 to Demeter; for that goddess appears on the coins of Nicomedia (Wroth, *Catal. of Greek coins of Pontus*, &c., pp. 181, 183, 186), and Arrian, the most famous citizen of Nicomedia (cf. Steph. Byz. *s. v.*), was perpetual priest of Demeter and Core there (Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* ii. 1230). With this interpretation of **1612**, which is based upon the identification of 'Caesar' with Julius and the existence of a close connexion with Dio, the oration was presumably delivered during the reign of Augustus, when Caesar-worship of any kind was still a novelty. But there are several other possible modes of interpretation. The references to 'Caesar' in **1612** do not necessarily indicate that he was dead at the time when the oration was delivered (though cf. l. 31, n.), and if he was alive, 'Caesar' must be Augustus or one of his successors, not Julius. The date of the papyrus practically excludes the possibility of a later emperor than Severus Alexander being meant (Diocletian, who made his residence at Nicomedia, is quite out of the question); but, especially in view of the rather compromising character of the contents of **1612**, it would be more satisfactory to diminish the interval between the supposed date of composition and that of the papyrus, which if 'Caesar' is Julius or Augustus seems to be about 200 years. Caracalla and Heliogabalus both wintered at Nicomedia, and festivals in honour of Commodus and the brothers Caracalla and Geta are mentioned in the coins of Nicaea (Wroth, *op. cit.* pp. 162, 166). It is also just possible that in ll. 35–6 there is a reference to 'Caesars' in the plural, and that these are the reigning emperors. Not only is the hypothesis that the scene of the speech was Bithynia quite compatible with the identification of 'Caesar' with a much later emperor than Augustus, but the provenance of the papyrus rather suggests Egypt as the scene, though **1612** is hardly parallel to e.g. **471**, a speech before an emperor directed probably against a praefect of Egypt, which is also arranged in literary form, with punctuation, &c. Against, however, the advantages to be gained by making 'Caesar' throughout a second or even third century emperor has to be set the consequent impossibility of connecting the reference to Nicaea with the passage quoted from Dio Cassius. If 'the Nicaean' was the author of the proposal mentioned by Dio, as the

coincidence with regard to the place-name suggests, Κα[ίσ]αρι in l. 11 ought to be Julius, and there is no indication that in ll. 9, 24, and 32 a different Caesar is meant. Moreover the use of the present tense ἐστίν in l. 15 in place of ἦν, though explicable as a mere piece of rhetoric, rather indicates that the Nicaean in question was still alive, and if so he cannot have been a second or third century individual, unless the circumstances alluded to in ll. 14–16 were quite different from those described by Dio.

A third line of interpretation was proposed by Sir W. M. Ramsay, who, taking Caesar as 'the Emperor' in the widest sense, i.e. including the dead as well as the living, suggests that **1612** deals with the degradation of true Caesar-worship, as expressing Roman patriotism, by superstitious admixture, as e.g. the Nicaean cult of the βροτόπους ἵππος illustrated by the coins of that city (cf. Drexler in Roscher's *Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Mythol.* ii. 2693–6), and regards the papyrus as a speech made in opposition to some such proposed degradation in the second or early third century. The horse with human feet figured in Nicaean coins of Antoninus Pius and Gordian is generally supposed to be connected with the horse possessing *humanis similes pedes* in the equestrian statue of Julius Caesar before the temple of Venus Genetrix at Rome (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 155; cf. Suetonius, *Julius* 61); but whether the rider represented on the coins, who seems to be the god Men, was also identified with Julius Caesar, is more doubtful, and there are no indications in **1612** that the superstitious element to which the speaker objected was concerned with a horse.

On the whole we are disposed to regard 'Caesar' throughout **1612** as Julius, not Augustus or a later emperor, whether dead or reigning; but the mention of 'the Nicaean' seems more likely to refer to some unknown innovation connected with the worship of Julius, than to either the establishment of that worship at Nicaea as recorded by Dio or the cult of the βροτόπους ἵππος. In view of the date of the papyrus the speech was probably composed and delivered (or supposed to be delivered) not earlier than the second century, and it is safer to make the scene of it Egypt (i.e. Alexandria) than Bithynia. The author may well have been a sophist of the age of Aristides or a little later, objecting to the introduction of some new kind of Oriental cult into the worship of Julius; but such a speech might also occur in a historical work in the style of Dio Cassius.

Fr. 1. Col. i.	Col. ii.
συ δε νεα̣ τ̣[.	[
ταυτα ὑπ̣[.	μ̣[
και τουτοι̣.	γ̣ι̣

και μεταπ[. . . . . .
αν εχε[ι] αυ[. . . . . ου
κ ευσεβ[ες . . . . . ουδε ?
οσιον [. . . .] . [. . . . .]ν μ[ε ?
τα το τ . [. . .] ποιητεον
ταυτα [Και]σαρα και σεμνυ
νειν αν [β]ουλοιτο· λεγω
δε α τω Κα[ισ]αρι φασι τε
λειν· [[ο]] και γαρ ε[ξ] αρχης ουχ ευ
ρομεν ημεις αυτα καλως
ποιουντες· αλλα Νικα
ευς εστιν ο πρωτος κα
ταστησας· οποιος μεν αν
θρωπος ου δει λεγειν· ε
στω δ ουν εκεινου και
παρ εκειν[οι]ς τελεισθω
μονοις· ωσπερ παρα τοις
Αθηναιοις τα των Ελευ
σεινιων· ει βουλομε[θ]α
αυτον ασεβειν το[ν]
Καισαρα· ωσπερ αν και τη[ν
[Δ]ημητραν σεβ[ο]υμεν
[α]ν ενθαδε τελουντες
[α]υτηι την εκει[σ]ε τελε
[τη]ν· ου γαρ εθελει αν̣ει
[να ?]ι̣ των τοιουτων ουδεν·
[οτι] δ ουκ αφαιρησεσθ[ε
[την] δοξαν της αθαν[α
[σιας] του Καισαρος εα[ν ε
[μοι ? π εισθητε παραδε[ι
[γμα υ]μιν ερω το νυν τ[.
[. . . . .] τα γαρ των κ[. . .]ς
[. . . . . υ ετελ[ουμε]ν
[. . . . . κ]αι τ[ουτω ?]ν ουθεν
ου . [
ξα[
λου[
γον[
δητ[
φερε[
ασοι[
ερει . [
σθαι . [
καιο . [
[.]ον . [
ον εχ[
ρ αυτ[
αφ . [
μεν[
γαρ τ[
χ[
λ[
α[
[
[
[
[
οιμα[ι ?
του δ[
τουτο[
ρουντ[
ϊερευς [
στολη[
προσα[
ζει ως[
μεταυ[

Fr. 2.

81 ι ?]ερεα[
]ηρ[
]τοι[

[. . . . .]κκ . [. . .] αρχαια	ε . σ[. .]ετ[
. . . . .]τιν το υς θεους	μεν .]τα
40 [. . . . .]να . αν	80 . ον . μ[

8–37. . . . ποιητέον, ταῦτα [Καί]ταρα καὶ σεμνύνειν ἂν [β]ούλοιτο, λέγω δὲ ἃ τῷ Κα[ίσ]αρί φασι τελεῖν. κα[ὶ] γὰρ ἐ[ξ] ἀρχῆς οὐχ εὕρομεν ἡμεῖς αὐτά, καλῶς ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ Νικαεύς ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος καταστήσας. ὁποῖος μὲν ἄνθρωπος, οὐ δεῖ λέγειν· ἔστω δ' οὖν ἐκείνου καὶ παρ' ἐκείν[ο]ις τελείσθω μόνοις, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων, εἰ ⟨μὴ⟩ βουλόμε[θ]α αὐτὸν ἀσεβεῖν τὸ[ν] Καίσαρα, ὥσπερ ἂν καὶ τὴ[ν Δ]ημήτραν ⟨ἀ⟩σεβ[ο]⟨ί⟩μεν {[ἂ]ν} ἐνθάδε τελοῦντες [α]ὐτῇ τὴν ἐκεί[σ]ε τελε[τή]ν· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλει ἀνεί[να?]ι τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. [ὅτι] δ' οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεσθ[ε τὴν] δόξαν τῆς ἀθαν[ασίας] τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐὰ[ν ἐμοὶ? π]ειισθῆτε, παράδε[ιγμα ὑ]μῖν ἐρῶ τὸ νῦν τ[. . . . .] τὰ γὰρ τῶν κ[. . .]ε[. . . . .]υ ἐτελ[οῦμε]ν [. . . . . κ]αὶ τ[ούτω?]ν οὐδέν . . .

'. . . he would wish these (?) really to magnify Caesar, I am referring to the rites which they say that they perform to Caesar. It was not we who originally invented those rites, which is to our credit, but it was a Nicaean who was the first to institute them. The character of the man need not be described: in any case let the rites be his, and let them be performed among his people alone, as the Eleusinian rites are among the Athenians, unless we wish to commit sacrilege against Caesar himself, as we should commit sacrilege against Demeter also, if we performed to her here the ritual used there; for she is unwilling to allow any rites of that sort (?). As a proof that you will not be depriving Caesar of the glory of immortality, if you listen to me, I will tell you . . .'

1. *συ δε νεα τ[* : the use of the second person singular creates a slight, but by no means insuperable difficulty; cf. int. *συ* might of course be e. g. *ημει]συ*, and *δ εν ελπ[ι* . . . could be read; but *νεα* suits the context (cf. l. 38 *αρχαια*), referring to the rites in question.

3. *τουτοι[* : the last letter can also be *γ*, *μ*, *ν*, or *π*.

4. *μεταπ[* : or *μεταγ[*.

7–8. *]ν μ[ε]τα* : the vestige of a letter following *ν* is too slight to afford a real clue, and after it nothing may be lost.

8. *το τ . [. . .]* : *τ* and *υ* sometimes closely resemble each other in this hand, and *τουί[. . .]* is just possible, but *το τ* followed by *η*, *ι*, or *υ* is preferable. There may have been a high stop after *ποιητεον*, the surface of the papyrus being damaged at that point. In any case *ταυτα* seems to be the subject of *σεμνυνειν*, not the object of *ποιητεον*, though the construction of ll. 7–10 is not clear. The sentence may have begun with *εἰ*.

10. *αν [β]ουλοιτο* : the vestige of the supposed *ν* is very slight, and there would be room for another letter in the lacuna, for *ν[β]* occupies the same space as *Καισ* in ll. 9 and 11. *δ* is possible in place of *α*, but *αν* seems necessary for the optative.

11. *τω Κα[ισ]αρι* : or *τωι Κ[αισ]αρι*. Cf. *[α]υτηι* in l. 27.

14. *Νικαευς* : cf. int.

16. *ανθρωπος* may receive either a rough or a smooth breathing.

22. *ει βουλομε[θ]α* : the insertion of a negative is required both here and in l. 25 to give sense to the argument. *σεβ[ο]υμεν* there is evidently a mistake for *ασεβοιμεν*, and here either *ει* is to be altered to *ου*, or *μη* is to be inserted.

26. *α[ν]* : *ν* is almost certain, *ω* or *αι*, which are the only other possibilities, being much less suitable. The repetition of *ἄν* is not necessarily wrong, but probably there was a mistake of some kind, possibly the incorrect division *σεβ[ο]υμεν [η]ν* (sc. *ασεβοιμεν*).

28–9. The subject of *εθελει* is not clear, but is more likely to be Caesar or Demeter

than the Nicaean. The next word is presumably an infinitive ending in [.α]ι or [σθα]ι or perhaps [α]ν or [ει]ν. The last letter is more like ι than ν, and no alternative is possible. ν before ει is almost certain, η being the only alternative. The first letter must be α, γ, δ, λ, μ, ν, π, or τ: a spot of ink between this and ν probably, if the first letter is α, belongs to that, not to a distinct letter, and is in any case inconsistent with a broad letter or one coming below the line. ανει[να]ι, 'to allow', is difficult, but suits the vestiges better than ο[ρ]νει[σθα]ι. In των certainly, and possibly in τουτων also, the ω is closed at the top, as if the scribe intended to alter it to ο; but he certainly did not write τον τουτον originally, and is more likely to have intended των τουτων. ουδεν suits the vestiges better than ουθεν (cf. l. 37). The supposed stop after it is uncertain; the surface of the papyrus is damaged and ουδενα is a possible reading.

31. αθαι[ασιας]: cf. Dio lii. 36 ὥστ' εἴπερ ἀθάνατος ὄντως ἐπιθυμεῖς γενέσθαι in the speech of Maecenas to Augustus. Lines 30–2 seem more appropriate to a dead than to a living Caesar, who did not become technically θεός till his death; cf. int. p. 150.

34. The letter following νυν, if not τ, is probably γ or π.

35–6. It is rather tempting to read των Κ[αισ]α[ρων (cf. p. 150); but the letter at the end of l. 35 is much more like ε than α.]υ might be the end of προ το]υ.

1613. List of Early Athenian Archons.

4·6 × 4·4 cm. Second century.

This small fragment from the middle of a column belongs to a list of the earliest Athenian archons with the numbers of their years of office, like the lists in Eusebius (Schöne, Euseb. *Chron.* i. 188 and App. 1 a. 11), Jerome (*op. cit.* App. 1 b. 31), the Excerpta Latina Barbari (*op. cit.* App. 6. 217), and Syncellus (ed. Dindorf i. 368, 399); cf. v. Schoeffer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* ii. 582–3. Such lists were no doubt common in Egypt; cf. the chronological list of Olympic victors in **222**, and A. Bauer's *Alexandrinische Weltchronik* (*Denkschr. d. Wien. Akad.* li). The handwriting is a small uncial of the Roman period, probably of the second century. After the abolition of the Athenian monarchy archons according to tradition were appointed at first for life, afterwards for ten years, and from 683 B.C. onwards annually. The change from archons for life to decennial archons began according to the Exc. Lat. Barb. with Alcmaeon, but the other authorities make him the last of the first category. The papyrus contains the name of Alcmaeon (l. 5) with the names of his four predecessors and six successors in the best supported order (cf. ll. 3–4, n.); but the numbers of the years of office are missing throughout, and there is nothing to show which view was taken with reference to the chronology of Alcmaeon. One name is quite corrupt (l. 6. n.) and another is misspelled (l. 8, n.). Only one more name after l. 11 is required to complete the list of decennial archons: before l. 1 eight names of archons for life are probably lost; cf. ll. 3–4, n.

	Ἀρειφ[ρων]	ετη [. .
	Θεσπι[ε]υς	ετη [. .
	Αγαμηστωρ	ετη [. .
	Αισχυλος	ε[τη . .
5	Αλκμεων [	ετη . .
	Χαιος [	ετη . .
	Αισιμιδ[ης	ετη . .
	Κλεοδικ[ος	ετη . .
	Ιππομενης	ετη . .
10	Λεωκρα[της	ετη . .
	Ἀψανδ[ρος	ετη . .

1–3. That the originally separate fragment containing ετη (three times) is correctly assigned to these lines is not quite certain.

3–4. Between Agamestor and Aeschylus the Exc. Lat. Barb. insert Thersippus, who is placed by the other authorities (cf. int.) 4th in the list of archons for life, Ariphron (l. 1) being 9th, as he presumably was here.

5. Αλκμεων: cf. int.

6. Χαιος: l. Χαροψ. From this point onwards the figure lost was presumably ι in each case; cf. int.

8. Κλεοδικ[ος: so also Syncellus; but Eusebius has (Κ)λείδικος or *Klidikus*, Jerome *Elidicus*, and Exc. Lat. Barb. *Celdicus*. Κλειδικος is the correct form; cf. Paus. i. 3. 3.

III. FRAGMENTS OF EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

1614. PINDAR, *Ol.* i, ii, vi, vii.

28·8 × 27·2 cm. Fifth or sixth century.

The lost poems of Pindar occur in several papyri, chiefly from Oxyrhynchus, Dithyrambs in **1604**, Paeans in **841** and P. S. I. 147, Partheneia in **659**, odes of uncertain character in **408** and possibly **426**; but the extant epinician odes have not hitherto been represented in Egyptian finds, so that a special interest attaches to this fragment of a codex of the Olympian odes. It consists of a single sheet forming two leaves, the first of which contains i. 106–ii. 45 (when complete i. 104–

ii. 50), the second vi. 71–vii. 20 (when complete vi. 68–vii. 26). The lines are for the most part short, being divided much as in the extant MSS., and of the four columns two (i and iii) are fairly well preserved, but the other two have only the ends of lines. The upper margin is not preserved anywhere, but in Col. iii l. 150 (= *Ol.* vi. 95) is the last. 20 more lines corresponding to vi. 96–105 are required to complete the ode, but these must have been omitted in Col. iv, for l. 158 (vii. 6) is at the back of l. 111 (vi. 72), and that the number of lines lost at the top of Col. iv did not exceed 7 is clear from the size of the corresponding interval between the last extant line of Col. i (l. 51 = ii. 17) and the first of Col. ii (l. 57 = ii. 21). How the 5 missing lines were distributed between Cols. i and ii is not quite certain, for, as far as Col. i by itself is concerned, there is room for 1 or 2 more lines at the bottom. But if, as seems not improbable, Ode vii began at the top of Col. iv, the top of Col. ii can be made fairly even with the top of Col. iv only on the hypothesis that l. 51 was the last of Col. i. Otherwise, if e. g. there are only 3 lines instead of 5 lost at the top of Col. ii, there will certainly not be room at the top of Col. iv for the first few lines of Ode vii, especially since the writing in Cols. iii–iv is by a different scribe from that of Cols. i–ii and less compact. Neither scribe employed a formal uncial, the hand of the first being rude and irregular, while that of the second tends to become cursive, particularly in ει at the ends of lines. Black ink was used by the first scribe as far as l. 67, brown ink by him in ll. 68–95 and by the second scribe, whose pen was thinner. Iota adscript was rarely written. Both scribes inserted marks of elision and diaeresis and occasional stops (high points), the second also occasional breathings and an apostrophe after γάρ in l. 144; but a breathing in l. 37 in brown ink was not written, originally at any rate, by the first hand. That is the only trace of a subsequent revision apart from corrections clearly due to the two scribes themselves. The date of the papyrus is certainly fifth or sixth century, more probably the former, but the Byzantine documents found with it have not yet been unrolled.

The MSS. of Pindar's epinician odes are divided into two families, called the Ambrosian and the Vatican. Of the first group the chief representatives are A (13th cent.), C (late 14th cent.), N (13th–14th cent.), V (late 13th cent.); of the second B (12th cent.), D and E (14th cent.). In *Ol.* i this classification has to be modified, since A there combines with the Vatican group, D with the Ambrosian. The archetype of both families is assigned to the second century, to which the extant scholia are also referred. The text is generally thought to have been preserved with considerable care owing to the efforts of grammarians, and to have undergone comparatively little corruption since the second century, before which, as is shown by quotations, it was far from being fixed. This view is borne out

by the papyrus, which carries back the evidence some seven centuries and is very close to the text of the best MSS., agreeing sometimes with the Ambrosian family (ll. 79, 112, 116–17, 121, 146, 169), somewhat oftener with the Vatican (ll. 8, 24, 30, 36, 59, 82, 85, 92, 95, 126, 175). The difficulty in ii. 6 (ll. 32–3, n.) and the interpolation in ii. 29–30 (ll. 70–1, n.) recur. A number of slips are found, as is usual in Byzantine texts; cf. e.g. **1618**. Of the new readings the most interesting occur in ii. 39 and vi. 77; cf. ll. 88 and 119, nn.

Col. i (Fol. 1 verso).

3 lines lost

θ̣ε̣ὸ̣ς̣ επιτροπος i. 106
ε̣ω̣ν̣ τ̣[εαισι μηδεται
εχων [το]υ̣[το κηδος Ιερων
μεριμι[αι]σιν[·] ε̣ι̣ δ̣[ε μη ταχυ λιποι
ετι γλυκυτεραν κ̣[εν ελπομαι
ξυν̣ αρματι θοω κλ̣[ει 110
ξειν επικουρον ε[υρων

οδον λ[[ε̆]]γων π̣α̣[ρ ευδειελον ελθων
Κ̣ρονιον· εμοι μεν [ων Μοισα καρτερω

τατον βελος αλκᾶι τρ̣[εφει? αλλοι
σι δ' αλλοι μεγαλοι· το δ ε̣ω̣χατο[ν κο
ρυφουται βασιλευσι· μηκετι
παπταινε πορσιον
ειη σε γε τουτον 115
υψου χρονον πατειν εμε
τε τοσσαδε νικαφοροις
ομιλειν προφαντον σοφ[ια καθ Ελ
λανας εοντα παντα
̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣
Θηρωνι Ακρα[γαντινω αρματι?
α̅ν̅α̅ξ̅[ι]φ̅ο̅ρ̅μ̅ι̅γγε̅[̅ς̅ υμνοι ii. 1
τ[ινα θ]εον τιν' η[ρωα
τι̣ι̣[α δ'] ανδρα κελα[δησομεν
ητοι Πισα μεν Δι[ος

Ολυμπιαδα δ' εσ[τα
σεν Ηρακλεης
ακροθινα πολεμου [
Θηρωνα δε τετραο[ριας ii. 5
ε̣ν̣εκα νικαφορου
γεγωνητεον οπι
δικαιον ξεινον
ερεισμ' Ακραγαντ[ος
ευωνυμων δε πατε[ρων
αωτον ορθοπολιν
καμοντες οἱ πολλα [θυμω
ϊ̈ερον εσχον οικημα̣ [10
ποταμου· Σικελιας [τ εσαν
οφθαλμ[ο]ς· αιω̣[ν δ εφε
πε μο[ρσι]μ̣[ος πλουτον
τε και χα[ριν αγων
γνησια[ις επ αρεταις
αλλ' ω Κ[ρονιε παι Ρεας
εδος Ολ̣[υμπου νεμων
αεθλω[ν τε κορυφαν
πορ̣ο̣ν̣ [τ Αλφεου
ϊ̈α[ν]θε[ις αοιδαις 15
ε[υφρ]α̣[ν αρουραν ετι πα
τρ̣[ιαν σφισιν κομισον
λ[οιπω γενει των δε πεπραγμενων

Col. ii (Fol. 1 recto).

[εν δικα τε και παρα δικαν]
[αποιητον ουδ αν]
[Χρονος ο παντων πατηρ]
[δυναιτο θεμεν εργων τελος]
[λαθα δε ποτμω σὺν ευδαιμονι γενοιτ αν] ii. 20
εσλων γαρ υπο χαρματω]ν [
πημα θνασκει πα]λιγκοτον δαμασθεν
οταν θεου Μοιρα] πεμπη
[ανεκας ολβον υψ]ηλον
[επεται δε λογος ευ]θρονοις
Καδμοιο κουραι]ς [·] επαθον
[αι μεγαλα] πενθος δε
πιτ]νει βαρυ
[κρε]σσονων προς αγαθων
[ζω]ει μεν Ολυμπιοις
αποθ]ανοισα βρομω
[κεραυ]νου τανυε
θειρα Σεμελ]α φιλει
[δε νιν Παλ]λας αιαι φιλε
[οντι δε Μ]οισαι
[και Ζευς πα]τηρ μαλα φιλει
[δε παις ο κισσο]φορος
[λεγοντι δ ε]ν κ[α]ι θαλασσα
[μετα κοραισι Ν]ηρεος
[αλιαις βιοτον] αφθιτον
[Ινοι τεταχθαι] τον ο
[λον αμφι χρο]νον ητοι
[βροτων γε κε]κριται
[περας ου τι θαν]ατου
[ουδ ασυχιμον] αμεραν
[οποτε παιδ'] αλιου
[ατειρει συν α]γαθω
[τελευτασομ]εν
[ροαι δ αλλοτ'] αλλαι
[ενθυμιαν] τε μετα και
[πονων ες α]νδρας εβαν
[ουτω δε Μοιρ]' α τε πατρωιαν
τωνδ εχει τον ? ε]υφρονα ποτμον
[θεορτω σ]υν ολβω
[επι τι και π]ημ[' α]γει
[παλιντραπελον αλ]λω χρ[ον ω
[εξ ουπερ εκτεινε Λαον μοριμος] υιος
[συναντομενος εν δε Πυ]
[θωνι χρησθεν παλαιφατον] τελεσσεν
9 lines lost

Col. iii (Fol. 2 recto).

5 lines lost
2nd hand εξ ο[υ πολυκλειτον καθ Ελλανας vi. 72
111 γενος Ι[αμιδαν
ολβος αμ' εσπε[τ]ο τ[ιμωντες δ αρετας
ες φανεραν οδον [ερχονται τεκμαι
ρει χρημ' εκαστον μω[μος δ εξ
115 αλλων κρεμαται φθονε[οντων
τοις οις ποτε πρωτοις περι [δωδεκατον
δρομον ελαυνοντεσσιν α[ιδοια ποτι
γλωσσαι· ακονας λιγυρας
ἁ μ' εθελοι[τ]α προσ[ερ]πει
καλλιροαι[σι]ν πνοαις ματρομα[
τωρ εμα Στυμφαλις ευανθης Με[τωπα
135 πλαξιππον ἁ [Θηβα]ν ετι
α
κεν τες ερατ[εινο]ν υδωρ
πιομαι ανδρ[ασιν α]ιχμ[ατα]ι[σι πλεκων
ποικιλον υμ[νον ο]τρυ[ν]ον νυν ε[ταιρους

σταξη Χαρις ευκλεα μορφ[αν
ει δ' ετυμως ὑπο Κυλλανας ορος
Αγησια ματρωες ανδρες
ναιεταοντες εδωρησαν θεων
καρυκα λ[[ε]]ιταις θυσιαις
πολλα δη πολλαισιν Ερμαν ευσεβε[ως
ος αγωνας εχει
μοιραν τ' αεθλων Αρκαδιαν 80
τ' ευανορα τι

μαι· κινος ω παι Σωστρατου

συν βρυγδουπωι πατρι
κραινει σεθεν ευτυχ[[ε]]ιαν
δοξαν εχω τιν' επι
Αινεα· πρω[τον μ]εν Η
ραν Παρθενια[ν κελα]δησαι
γνωναι τ[ ] επει[τ' αρχαι]ον [ο]νε[ιδος
αλαθεσι λογοις 90
[ει] φευγομεν Βοι[ωτιαν υν
εεσι γαρ' αγγελος ο[ρθος
ηὐκομων σκυτ[αλα Μοισαν γλυκυς κρατηρ
αγαφθεγκτων αοιδαν
ειπον δε μεμνα[σθαι Συρα
κουσσαν [τε] κ[αι Ορτυγιας
ταν Ἱερ[ων καθαρω σκαπτω διεπων
αρτια μ[ηδομενος φοινικοπεζαν
αμφ'επ[ει Δαματρα 95
end of column

Col. iv (Fol. 2 verso).

7 lines lost
[νιν ζαλωτον ομοφρονος ευν]ας vii. 6
[και εγω νεκταρ χυτον Μοισα]ν
[δοσιν αεθλοφοροις]
[ανδρασιν πεμπων γλυκυν] καρπον
[φρενος ιλασκομαι]
[Ολυμπια Πυθοι τε νικω]ν 10
[τεσσιν ο δ ολβιος ο]ν [ ]
[φαμαι κατεχο]ντ' αγασθαι
[αλλοτε δ αλλον] εποπτευει Χαρις
[ζωθαλμιος α]δυμελει
[θαμα μεν φορ]μιγγι παμφω
[νοισι τ εν εντε]σι[ν αυ]λων
[και νυν υπ αμφοτερ]ων·
συν Διαγορα κατεβαν' πονηροντιαν
[υμνεων παιδ Αφροδι]τας
[Αελιοιο τε νυμφαν]
[Ροδον ευθυμαχαν] 15
[οφρα πελωριον ανδρ]α παρ Αλφειωι
[στεφανωσαμενον]
[αινεσω πυγμας αποινα] και
[παρα Κασταλια]
[πατερα τε Δαμαγητον α]δοντα Δικα [ ]
[Ασιας ευρυχορου]
τριπολιν νασον πελ ας
[εμβολω ναιοντ]ας Αργειαι [σ]υν α[ιχμα]ι
[εθελησω τοισιν] εξ 20
[αρχας απο Τλαπολ]εμου
10 lines lost

8. The second ν of γλυκυτεραν is corr. from ε: i. e. the scribe began to write γλυκερωτεραν, which is found in DN.

κ[εν: so ABE; all that remains is the tip of a vertical stroke, which would also be

reconcileable with τ[ε, as proposed by Schr(oeder), but not with ε[λπομαι, the reading of CDN.

9. ξυν: this form is not certainly attested in Pindar; cf. **1604**, II. 13, n.

κλ[ει]ξειν: so CE, Schr.; κλειζειν BADN.

13. αλκᾶι: so most MSS. rightly; ἀλκάν DE.

13–14. αλλοι]σι: this passage is corrupt in the MSS., which all have ἄλλοισι against the metre, except V (ἐν ἄ.). The Byzantine correctors read ἐπ' ἄλλοισι, but Schr. conjectures ἀμφ' ἄ.

17. σε γε: σέ τε MSS., except V (om. τε). The scholl. remark ὁ νοῦς· εἶη δὲ σὲ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον . . . ἄλλως· ἀλλ' εἶη σὲ τοῦτ. τ. χ. κτλ., from which it has been supposed that there was a reading σὲ δέ. τε, which connects with τε in l. 19, seems preferable to γε, but may have arisen from the second τε.

18. νψου: so MSS. except D (ὑψοῖς).

19. τε: δὲ DN. Cf. l. 17, n.

22. l. Ακρο[γαντινω. If αρματι, which is usually added by the MSS. after it, was written, the end of this line projected very considerably; but cf. l. 145.

24. θ]εον: θεῶν EV.

τιν' η[ρωα: τίνα δ' ἥρωα AE against the metre.

25. τι[α δ'] ανδρα: so ABE; τίν' ἄνδρα CD against the metre.

29. ακροθινα: so ABDN^2, Schr.; ἀκροθίνια CN^1, Zenodotus; ἀκροθίνιον E.

30. δε: ε is corr. from ο (?). The word is omitted by A, which has τετραωρίας.

32–3. οπι δικαιον ξενον: so MSS. (mostly ὀπί, but a few ὅπι). The second syllables of οπι and ξενον ought to be long, and Schr. follows Hermann in reading ὅπι (= ὅπιδι) δίκαιον ξένων. The division between the corresponding lines 68–9 comes a syllable earlier.

36. ορθοπολιν: ὀρθόπτολιν against the metre ADN.

41. μο[ρσι]μ[ος πλουτον: so MSS.; μ. ὁ πλοῦτον (Hermann) or μ. ἐπ' ὄλβον (Heyne) has been suggested on metrical grounds.

52–7. These lines are restored so as to correspond to ll. 89–94. The traces of the supposed ν in l. 57, which comes above the second α of δαμασθεν in l. 58, are very doubtful, and the first syllable of εσ(θ)λων, the reading of the MSS. in l. 57, is against the metre; there is also an uncertainty about l. 94; cf. n. *ad loc.* The reason for the assignment of all ll. 52–6 to Col. ii is explained in int.

59. πεμπη: so most MSS., Schr.; πέμψῃ A.

62. επαθον: πάθον A. The word corresponds to Δι[ος] | ο- in ll. 26–7.

65. ο of [κρε]σσονων is corr. from ω.

66. μ of μεν is corr. εν has been omitted by mistake after it; cf. l. 169, n.

70. αιαι: l. αιει.

70–1. φιλε[οντι δε Μ]οισαι: a superfluous verse which was athetized by Aristophanes, but is found in all MSS. except those of Triclinius.

75. Ν]ηρεος: so CE; Νηρέως ABDN; Νηρῆος, required by the metre, occurs above the line in CDN.

79. [βροτων γε: γε, which is omitted by B, must have been written.

80. Considerations of space make the unmetrical form περας, found in all ancient MSS., more probable than πειρας, which was introduced by the Byzantine correctors.

82. αλιου: so BE; ἀελίου against the metre ACDN.

85. αλλαι: ἀλλοῖαι against the metre C^{2}DN.

88. α τε πατρωιαν: ἅ τε πατρῴϊον MSS., which is generally retained by edd., though Hermann conjectured ἅτε (or ἃ τὰ) πατρῴϊα, and Mommsen ἃ τὸ πατρώιον from the schol. κατέχει τὸν εὔφρονα πότμον ἡ τύχη καθάπερ τὸ πατρῷον κατέσχε. πατρωιαν must be wrong, but two other scholia οὕτω δὲ ἐπὶ τούτων . . . ἡ πατρικὴ μοῖρα κακὸν φέρει . . . and οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων . . . ἡ

πατρῴα κακὸν ἄγει μοῖρα would be compatible with an ancient reading πατρωία, of which πατρωιαν might be a corruption, due to εβαν at the end of the previous line. The last syllable of l. 88 can be either long or short. It seems, however, more likely that, as suggested by Lobel, the scribe has omitted an elision-mark and πατρώι' ἄν was really meant, ἄν belonging to ἔχειν. ἀνέχειν 'support' is more suitable here than the simple verb; cf. *Py.* ii. 89 θεὸν . . . ὃς ἀνέχει τότε μὲν τὰ κείνων τότ' αὖθ' ἑτέροις ἔδωκεν μέγα κῦδος and *Nem.* vii. 89 εἰ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ θεὸς ἀνέχοι, and κατέχει in the schol. quoted above. πατρώι(α) would be an adverbial accusative or in apposition to τὸν εὔφρονα πότμον. This reading is probably right.

89. 8–10 letters would be expected in the lacuna, where the ordinary reading of the MSS. gives 12, and perhaps there was an omission. εχι may well have been written; cf. l. 127.

92. αλ]λω χρ[ον]ω: ἄλλος χρόνος A.

93. Considerations of space favour the correct forms Λαον (i. e. Λᾶον) and μοριμος (a v. l. in the scholia and introduced by the Byzantines) against Λαῖον and μορσιμος which are found in the MSS.

94. This line, if written, must have been rather cramped, for νιος in l. 93 presents the appearance of belonging to the line immediately above τελεσσεν (l. 95).

95. τελεσσεν: so B rightly; τέλεσεν ACD; τελέσας E; om. N.

112. ολβος αμ': so ACD[1]; ὄλβος δ' ἅμ' the rest against the metre.

114. μω[μος δ εξ: **1614** may of course have omitted δ, which is found in the MSS., but was deleted by Boeckh on metrical grounds.

116. πρωτοις: so AC[2]DE, Schr.; πρῶτον BC[1]N.

117–18. ποτι]σταξη: so CD (-ξει), Schr.; ποτιστάζει ABE.

119. ορος: so Callierges (Rome, 1515), as is supposed, from the scholia (e. g. in D; cf. also Homer, B 603 ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ); ὄροις ABCE; ὅροις DE (lemma); ὀρέων conj. Schr. The objection to ὅρος is that the second syllable is expected to be long here.

121. εδωρησαν: so AB[2] rightly; δώρησαν the rest.

126–7. τιμᾶι: so MSS. except A (τιμὰν).

131. γλωσσᾶι: the accent ought to have been paroxytone. Editors generally place no stop after γλώσσᾳ, explaining ἀκόνας λιγυρᾶς as a genitive of quality. The papyrus agrees with Boehmer, who connected ἀκ. λιγ. with πνοαῖς.

132. προσ[ερ]πει: so most MSS. and edd.; προσέρποι D; πρωσέλκει Triclinius.

133. καλλιροαι[σι]ν: the ν ἐφελκυστικόν is wrong; cf. l. 142, n.

135–6. ετικεν: l. ετικτεν. τες is merely an error.

142. αλαθεσι: so ABD; l. αλαθεσιν with EN.

144. εεσι: ἐσσὶ MSS.; ἔστι Wilamowitz, objecting to the poet's address to his poem, and avoiding the three predicates without a connecting particle. The second letter of εεσι was not corrected, but the third was not σ originally, being corrected from a letter with a tail, probably ι or ρ.

146–7. Συρα]κουσσαν: Συρακοσσᾶν (BDE) is the form preferred by edd. The division of these lines does not correspond to that in ll. 110–11, where there are two more syllables in the earlier line.

149–50. Cf. ll. 113–14, where there is a syllable more in the earlier line.

150. On the omission of the end of Ode vi see int.

165. αγασθαι: l. αγαθαι.

167. That **1614** had ζωθαλμιος with most MSS. rather than ζωοφθαλμιος with CNO[1] is not certain.

169. Considerations of space favour the insertion of εν which is omitted by BDE before εντε]σι[ν.

170. The stop after αμφοτερ]ων is misplaced.

171. πονοντιαν: l. ταν ποντιαν with the MSS. The scholia mention a v. l. ποντίας.

175. Αλφειωι: so most MSS.; Ἀλφεῶ(ι) A, Schr.

1615. Sophocles, *Ajax*.

4·2 × 3·9 cm. Fourth century. Plate IV (recto).

This small fragment from the middle of a leaf of a papyrus codex of Sophocles, containing the beginnings of ll. 694–705 and ends of 753–64 of the *Ajax*, was found with a number of other literary pieces which date from the third or fourth century. The writing is a small sloping uncial with a tendency to cursive forms and to exaggeration of the final letter of a line, and there is little doubt that it belongs to the fourth century, probably to the earlier half of it. Breathings, accents, marks of elision and quantity, and high stops were freely inserted by the scribe himself. The circumstance that this is the first papyrus fragment of the *Ajax* to be discovered gives it a certain interest, but it is too short to be of very serious value. A new variant in l. 699, which has apparently left a trace in Suidas, is likely to be right, as is another new reading in l. 756, and the quality of this text seems to have been distinctly high. The division of lines in the choric passage is the same as that in the Laurentianus (L).

Recto.

ιω ιω Παν [Παν
ὦ Πᾶν Πᾶ[ν αλιπλαγκτε Κυλ
λᾱνιας χι[ονοκτυπου
πετραίας [απο δειραδος φανηθ ω
θεῶν χο[ροποι αναξ οπως μοι
Μύσια Κ[νωσι ορχηματ αυτοδαη
ξὺνὼν ι̣[αψης
νυν γ̣[αρ εμοι μελει χορευσαι
Ικαριω̣ν̣ [δ υπερ πελαγεων
μ̣ὶλων ̣αναξ Απολλων
ὁ Δᾱλιος [ευγνωστος
εμοι ξι[νειη δια παντος ευφρων

Verso.

[ειρξαι κατ ημαρ τουμφαν]ε̣ς̣ [το νυν τοίε
[Αιανθ υπο σκηναισι μηδ] αφ'ἕντ' εᾶν
[ει ζωντ εκεινον εισιδε]ιν θέλοι ποτε·
[ελα γαρ αυτον τηνδ εθ] ημεραν μονην·
[διας Αθανας μηνις ως] εφη λεγων·

[τα γαρ περισσα κανονητ]α̣ σωματα
[πιπτειν βαρειαις προς θ]εων δυσπραξίαις
760 [εφασχ ο μαντις οστις ανθ]ρωπου φυσιν
[βλαστων επειτα μη κατ] ανθρωπ[ο]ν φρονῆι·
[κεινος δ απ οικων ευθυς] εξορμώμενος
ανους καλως λεγοντος] ευρεθη πατρος·
[ο μεν γαρ αυτον εννεπει τε]κ̣ν̣[ο]ν̣ δορι

699. Μύσια: Νύσια MSS., a reading which seemed appropriate enough in view of the close connexion between Pan and Dionysus. But, as was observed by Mr. A. C. Pearson, Μύσια is probably right. Pan was the cult-companion of the Mother of the gods (Schol. Pind. *Py.* iii. 137), and in Strabo 466 the Curetes are connected with *ἱερουργίας . . . περί τε τὴν τοῦ Διὸς παιδοτροφίαν τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ τοὺς τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ὀργιασμοὺς ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἴδην τὴν Τρωικὴν τόποις.* The region of Trojan Ida was in Mysia (Jebb on *Ai.* 720), and Κνώσια in l. 699 is no doubt rightly referred to the Curetes. In the scholia on l. 699 as quoted by Suidas *s.v.* Νύσια is the following note: Νύσια· *ὀρχήματος εἶδος. τῶν γὰρ ὀρχήσεων ἡ μὲν Βερεκυντιακὴ λέγεται, ἡ δὲ Κρητική, ἡ δὲ Παρική* (l. *ἡ καὶ πυρρίχη* with L). Νύσια *οὖν τὰ Βερεκύντια·* Νυσίας *γάρ ἐστιν ἡ Βερεκυντιακή,* Κνωσία *δὲ ἡ Κρητική. ἐν* Μυσίᾳ *γὰρ καὶ Κνωσσῷ ἐπιμελὴς ἡ ὄρχησις.* Μυσίᾳ there has been corrected to Νυσίᾳ, but in the light of **1615** Νύσια and Νυσίας are to be corrected to Μύσια and Μυσίας, for what has Nysa to do with the Berecynthian Mother? If Nysa and Dionysus are got rid of, everything fits together, and Sophocles is brought into line with Strabo; cf. also Virg. *Aen.* ix. 619 *buxus . . . Berecyntia Matris Idaeae*, and Lucr. ii. 611 sqq. *Idaeam vocitant Matrem*, etc., the Curetes being mentioned in l. 633.

754. *αφ'ἕντ'*: the supposed elision-mark and breathing are uncertain.

755. *θελοι*: so L; *θέλει* the recentiores.

756. *τηνδ εθ] ημεραν μονην*: or *τηνδε γ] ημ. μ.*; *τῆιδεθ' ἡμέρα* L; *τηδέθ' ἡμέραι* the recentiores; some editors, objecting to the crasis of *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ* in Tragedy, write *τῇδ' ἕθ' ἡμέρᾳ* or *τῇδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ*: *τῇδε θἠμέρᾳ* Jebb. The accusative is quite as good as the dative, but whether the scribe understood the passage is doubtful, for no stop is required after *μονην*.

759. *βαρειαις προς θ]εων δυσπραξίαις*: so MSS.; but whether the supposed traces of *ις* are really ink is not quite certain, especially as the preceding *α* is rather large, so that *βαρείᾳ . . . δυσπραξίᾳ* may possibly have been the reading, at any rate originally.

761. *φρονῆι*: so originally L, corr. by a later hand to *φρονεῖ*, the reading of the recentiores. Jebb prefers *φρονῆι*.

1616. EURIPIDES, *Orestes*.

4·2 × 7·8 cm. Fifth century.

A fragment from the middle of a leaf of a codex of Euripides, containing parts of *Orestes* 53–61 and 89–97, written on thin vellum with brown ink in a round calligraphic uncial hand of probably the fifth century. Elision-marks and high stops at the ends of lines are probably due to the first hand: a corrector, who used black ink, has altered the reading in ll. 60 and 91 and added occasional

accents and stops (in l. 56 in the middle position). This is the fifth fragment of the *Orestes* which has been obtained from Egypt; cf. **1370.** int. It is too short to have much bearing on the divergences of the MSS., but has a new reading which may be right in l. 61. The verso is in much worse condition than the recto. **1623** was found with **1616.**

Recto.

53 [ηκει γα]ρ [ε]ις γ[ην Μενελεως Τροιας απο
[λιμ]ενα δε Να[υπλιειον εκπληρων πλατη
55 [α]κταῖσιν ορμει δαρον εκ [Τροιας χρονον
[ά]λαισι πλαγχθεις· την δε δ[η πολυστονον
Ελενην φυλαξας νυκτα μη [τις εισιδων
μεθ' ημεραν στείχουσαν [ων υπ Ιλιω
πα[ιδ]ες τεθνᾶσιν εις πέτ[ρων ελθη βολας
60 [πρ]ουπεμψεν εις δωμ' ημε[τερον εστιν δ εσω
[κλαιουσ α]δελφ[ην συ]μφορας τ[ε δωματων

Verso.

89 [εξ ουπερ αιμα γενεθλιον κατ]ηυν[σεν
90 [ω μελεος η τεκουσα θ ως διωλ]ετο·
[ουτως εχει ταδ ωσ]τ απειρηκεν κακοις·
προς θεων πιθο]ι' αν δητα μοι τι παρθενε·
[ως ασχολος γε συγγο]νου προσεδρια·
[βουλει ταφον μοι] προς κασιγνητης μολ[ε]ι[ν
95 μητρος κελευεις της εμης τινος χαριν
κομης απαρχας κα]ι χοας φερουσα εμας
[σοι δ ουχι θεμι]τον προς φιλ[ω]ν στειχ[ειν ταφον

53. [ε]ις: ἐς edd., as in l. 59 and 60.

58. The supposed accent on στείχουσαν is somewhat uncertain, being really over the χ: but in l. 59 the accent on πέτ[ρων (which is also not quite certain) is above the τ.

59. πέτ[ρων: πέτρῶν Cod. Parisinus 2713; πετρῶν other MSS.; πέτρων edd. Cf. l. 58, n. Whether **1616** had ελθη with most MSS. or ελθοι with Vat. is of course uncertain.

61. συ]μφορας: συμφοράν MSS. Cf. int.

91. The first hand may have written 3 letters where ηκ was substituted by the corrector. The MSS. vary between ἀπείρηκεν (so **1616** corr., the Marcianus and edd.), ἀπείρηκα, and ἀπείρηκ' ἐν, but the original reading here seems to have been different.

97. φιλ[ω]ν: the MSS. vary between φίλων and φίλον: φίλων edd. ω suits the size of the lacuna here better than ο.

1617. ARISTOPHANES, *Plutus.*

23·5 × 16·7 cm. Fifth century.

Part of a sheet containing two leaves of a papyrus codex of Aristophanes, one of which has most of the first 60 lines of the *Plutus*, a play not hitherto represented in papyri, while of the other leaf only a small fragment is preserved, which is insufficient for purposes of identification. The script is a mixture of uncial and cursive in a style resembling that of **1599**, but somewhat later in date, and probably belongs to the fifth century, like most of the extant fragments of Aristophanes upon papyrus. The breathings and most of the accents, which are fairly numerous, are by the original scribe, who used brown ink; but some accents were added in black ink, presumably by a different person. The stops, consisting of double dots marking a change of speaker or single high points, are, except at the end of l. 35, by the first hand, as are probably the name of the speaker against l. 22, the glosses on ll. 34, 39, and 51, the iotas adscript, which were usually omitted in the first instance, and all the corrections except perhaps that in l. 13 and the correction or gloss in l. 17. An omission of two lines after l. 19 seems to have been made good by an addition at the bottom.

The corrected text is fairly accurate, and shows the same tendency as that observable to a marked degree in **1374** (*Wasps*) to support the Venetus (ll. 17, 22, 32, 33, 40) rather than the Ravennas (ll. 38, 43, 51, but all points of minor importance). In two places (ll. 4 and 50) it agrees with the Parisinus (A) against both R and V. The only new variant occurs in l. 49, ταῦθ' for τοῦθ', which makes no difference to the sense. The difficulties in ll. 17, 46, and 48 are not affected, the reading of the MSS. being apparently confirmed in each case. The circumstance that the *Plutus* begins at the top of a page suggests that this play was the first of the codex, as in R and V: the same argument applied to **1371–4** made the *Clouds* the first play of that collection; cf. **1371.** int.

Fol. 1 recto.

ὡς αργαλέον πρᾶγμ'[[α]] εστιν ὦ Ζεῦ κ[αι θεοι
δοῦλον γενέσθαι παραφρονοῦν[τος δεσποτου
ἦν γαρ τα βέλτισθ' ὁ θεράπων λεξ[ας τυχη
δοξηι δε μη δρᾶν ταυτὰ τῶι κεκτ[ημενω
μετεχειν ανάγκη τον θεράποντ[α των κακων
του σώματος γαρ ουκ εᾶ τον κυριον
κρατεῖν ο δαιμων αλλα τον εων[ημενον
και ταῦτα μεν δη ταῦτα· τῶι δ[ε Λο]ξ[ια

os θεσπιωδεῖ τρίποδος εκ χρυ[σηλατου
μέμψιν δικαιαν μεμφομαι τ[αυτην οτι
ιατρος ων και μαντις ως φασιν [σοφος
γ
μελανχολῶντ' απέπεμψεν μο[υ τον δεσποτην
π
οστι[ς ακ]ο̣λ̣[ουθε̣ι̣ κ̣α̣[ι]τό[ιτ]ιν[α] ανθ[ρωπου τυφλου
τ̣[ουναντιον δρων η] προσῆκ αυτω [ποιειν
[οι γαρ βλεποντες] τοις τυφλοις ἡ[γουμεθα
ο̣[υτος δ ακολουθει κ]αμέ προσβι̣[αζεται
]. αι
κ[αι ταὐτ αποκρινο]μ̣ενο̣υ̣ το παρ̣[απαν ουδε γρυ
εγ̣[ω μεν ουν ουκ] εσθ οπ[ως σιγησομαι
τ̣ην μη φρ̣α̣σῃς ο̣ [τι τωδ ακολουθουμεν ποτε
χρεμ μα Δι' αλλ αφε[λ]ων τον σ[τεφανον ην λυπης τι με
ἵνα μαλλον [α]λγῃ[ς]· λή[ρος ου γαρ παυσομαι
π̣ριν α̣ν̣ φ̣ρασης μοι τι[ς ποτ εστιν ουτοσι
[ευνους γαρ ων] σ̣οι̣ [πυνθανομαι πανυ σφοδρα

6 lines lost

Fol. 1 verso.

[επερησο]μενος ουν ω̣ι̣χ̣όμην ὡς τον θεον
αι
[τον εμον] μεν αυτοῦ τοῦ ταλεπωρου σχεδον
ι̣ηδη νομι̣ζ̣ω̣ι̣ν̣] εκτετοξευσθαι βιο̣υ̣· εκβεβλ[ησ]θαι α̣[πο λελοιπεναι
[τον δ υιον] ὁσπερ ὢν μονος μοι τυγχάνει·
ι̣πευσομε]νος ει χρη μεταβαλόντα του̣[ς] τροπους
ι̣ειναι παν]ουργον· αδικο[ν]ν ὑγιὲς μηδε ἐν
[ως τω βι]ω τουτ' αὐτο νομίσας συμφερειν:
ειπεν
[τι δητα Φο]ι̣β̣ος ελακεν εκ τῶν στεμματων·
[πευσει σαφ]ως γαρ ὁ θεος ειπε μοι ταδι·
αι
ι̣οτω ξυναν τησεμι πρῶτον εξιὼν
[εκελευσε το]υτου μη μεθιεσθαι μ' [[η̣μ̣]] έτι·
[πειθειν δ]' ε̣μ̣αυτω̣ ξυνακολουθεῖν οικαδε[:]
[και τω ξυν]αντᾶις δητα πρώτω̣: του[τ]ω̣:

[ειτ ου ξυνί]εις την επι[νοιαν του θεο]ῦ
φραζουσα]ν ὦ σκαιότατ[ε σοι σαφεστατα
[ασκειν τον] ὕιον τον επι[χωριον τροπον
[τωι τουτο κρι]νεις: δηλ[ον οτιη και τυφλ]ῳ
τωι θ'
γνωναι δοκ]ει ως σφοδρ [εστι συμφερο]ν
[το μηδεν ασ]κεῖν υ[γιες εν τω νυν] χρόνωι [:
[ουκ εσθ οπως ο] χρησμος εις τουτο ῥέπει φερ[εται
[αλλ εις ετερον τι με]ῖζον: ην δ ημιν φράσηι
[οστις ποτ εστιν ο]υτοσί και τ[ο]ν χαριν
[και του δεομενος] ηλθε μετ[α] νων εν[θαδε
ημων
[πυθοιμεθ αν τον χ]ρη[σμον] ο τι [νοει
[αγε δη συ ποτερον σαυτον οσ]τι[ς ει] φ[ρασεις

4 lines lost

Fol. 2 verso.

11 lines lost

72 α . [
17 lines lost

Fol. 2 recto.

10 lines lost

100] . . . . . λ . [. . .
] . . τε . . φ . . ι·
17 lines lost

4. ταυτὰ: the accent is due to the corrector. ταὐτὰ A; τ' αὐτὰ U; ταῦτα RV.

12. απέπεμψεν: l. απέπεμψε.

17. αποκρινο]μενου: or αποκρινο]μενοι, which is equally difficult; ἀποκρινομένῳ R; ἀποκρινομένου VAU; ἀποκρινόμενος Bentley. The interlinear writing does not seem to refer to the termination of the word and may be a gloss, as in l. 39; but it is not certain that anything was written before αι, and, as Dr. R. T. Elliott remarks, αι may be merely a variation of spelling of ε; cf. ll. 33, 41.

19. The partly obliterated sign against this line seems to be distinct from the abbreviation of Χρεμ(ύλος) immediately below and to refer to the omission of ll. 20–1, which were presumably supplied in the lower margin.

22. αφε[λ]ων: so VAU; R. adds γε.

32. ὡς: so VAU: πρὸς R.

33. τοῦ: so VAU; om. R.

34 marg. Similar but not verbally corresponding notes on ἐκτετοξεῦσθαι occur in the extant scholia.

37. There was possibly a stop (one or even two dots) after εν, but none is required.

38. αὐτο: so RAU (αὐτὸ): ὠὐτῶι corr. from αὐτῶι (?) V.

συμφερειν: so RV; ξυμφ. AU. Cf. l. 43, n.

39. ειπεν is an explanation of ελακεν, not a variant. Double dots are expected at the end of the line, and perhaps the lower one has been effaced.

40. ταδι: so V; τοδί RAU.

42. Whether the papyrus had εκελευσε with VAU or εκελευε with R is uncertain.

43. ξυνακολουθεῖν: so RAU; συνακ. V. Cf. l. 38, n.

45. ξυνί]εις: so RV; ξυνίης AU.

46. φραζουσα]ν: so MSS.; φράζοντος Cobet. The traces of the last letter suit ν, but not ς.

48. τυφλ]ω: so MSS.; τυφλὸς Hemsterhuys. The reading of the vestiges is very uncertain, and possibly there was a stop at the end of the line.

49. ταυθ': τοῦθ' MSS. ταυθ' would be more likely to become τοῦθ' in view of the following συμφέρον than vice versa.

50. χρόνωι: so AU; βίωι R; ἔτει (with γρ. γένει καὶ χρόνῳ in the marg.) V.

51. εις: so RAU; ἐς V.

51 marg. For φερ[εται (a note on ρέπει) cf. Schol. Junt. φέρεται, ἀποβλέπει κτλ. But the vestiges are very doubtful.

52. με]ίζον: : R also marks a change of speaker here, assigning ἦν δ' ἡμῖν κτλ. to θερ(άπων), i. e. Καρίων, and l. 56 originally to Χρ(εμύλος).

1618. THEOCRITUS, *Idyls* v, vii, xv.

Fr. 7 24·4 × 24 cm. Fifth century. Plate IV (Col. x).

These fragments of a papyrus codex of Theocritus, originally about 40 in number, combined with the exception of a few minute scraps, which are not printed, to form parts of four leaves, of which two containing *Id.* v. 53–end and vii. 1–13 are successive, and a third (vii. 68–117) is only separated from the second by an interval of one leaf, while the fourth (xv. 38–100) may have come much later. A narrow selis of the third leaf (Cols. vii–viii) was joined so that the verso corresponds to the recto of the rest of the leaf. All the leaves are much damaged, especially the first, of which the recto is barely legible anywhere owing to the discolouration of the papyrus, and the second, which is in almost the last stage of decay, so that decipherment is sometimes precarious. The script is a good-sized somewhat irregular uncial with a tendency to cursive forms, especially in α and λ, and resembles the Cairo Menander Plates D and E and **1369** (*Oedipus Tyrannus*; Part xi, Plate vii): it most probably belongs to the fifth century rather than the early part of the sixth. Iota adscript was generally omitted. The height of the column varies from 32 lines in Col. ix to 25 in Cols. vii–viii. The first hand was responsible for a few corrections, for the marks of elision throughout, and in *Id.* vii for a number of accents and breathings, besides a breathing in v. 114. Elsewhere in *Id.* vii, i. e. in Col. viii frequently and more sparsely in Cols. iv and vii, accents and breathings were inserted by a corrector, who was not appreciably later than the first hand and revised *Id.* v and vii (not always very intelligently; cf. vii. 101, n.), but apparently not xv, altering a number of readings and adding a few interlinear glosses (vii. 110) and stops (vii. 77).

The published fragments of Theocritus from Egypt have hitherto been very exiguous, being limited to **694**, which contains parts of xiii. 19–34 (2nd cent.), some tiny vellum scraps of *Id.* i, iv, v, xiii, xv, xvi, xxii (Wessely, *Wiener Stud.* 1886, 220 sqq. and *Mitthcil. Pap. Rain.* ii. 78 sqq.; 5th or 6th cent.), and of xi and xiv (*Berliner Klassikertexte* v. 1, p. 55; 7th? cent.), and a small piece of scholia on v. 38–49 (*op. cit.* v. 1, p. 56; 1st or 2nd cent.), all of them being practically worthless. Hence, pending the publication of the nearly contemporary and very much longer fragments of a Theocritus codex found by Johnson at Antinoë, **1618** is in spite of its lamentable condition the first papyrus contribution of any value for the text of that author. The Greek Bucolic poets are thought to have been collected two centuries after Theocritus by Artemidorus, whose son Theon edited Theocritus alone with a commentary. Additions to the collection were made by other grammarians down to the second century, and in the fifth and sixth centuries the Bucolic poets were much studied, but afterwards they suffered a long period of neglect. When in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries MSS. of them make their appearance, the collection of Artemidorus had been reduced to a nucleus of poems of Theocritus (*Id.* i, iii–xiii) accompanied by varying additions. The leading position in the MSS. is assigned to K (13th cent.), which contains *Id.* i, vii, iii–vi, viii–xiv, ii, xv, xvii, xvi. . . . Other important MSS. or groups of MSS. are (1) B, a lost codex which was the basis of the edition of Callierges and the Juntine (both 1516), and apparently had i–xvii in nearly the same order as K; (2) PQT (all 14th cent.), which have the order i, v, vi, iv, vii, iii, viii–xiii, xv, xiv, ii . . .; (3) H (13th–14th cent.) with the order i–xv, xviii . . .; S (14th cent.) with the order i–xiv, ἐπιτάφιος Βίωνος, xv–xviii; (4) M (13th cent.), considered to be the second-best MS. for the earlier poems, with the order i–xvii; (5) V (late 14th cent.) and Triclinius (c. 1300) with the same order as PQT up to xiii, followed by ii, xiv, xv . . .; (6) AEU (all 14th cent.) with the order i–xviii; (7) O (12th cent.; the oldest MS., but still imperfectly collated) containing only v. 62–viii, allied to AE. In *Id.* xv, where the divergences of the MSS. are much greater than in v and vii, L (14th cent.), containing v. 55–xv . . . but imperfectly collated in the earlier poems, supports V Tricl.

1618, as would be expected from its comparatively late date, does not present a very correct text; cf. **1614**. Apart from the usual difficulties arising out of the dialect and minor errors such as μετ' for μεγ' in vii. 100, ωστ for οστ' in vii. 103, συ for ου in xv. 54, αυταȿ for αυται or αυτα in xv. 67, more serious corruptions occur in vii. 73 τα Ξανες for τας Ξενεας, xv. 99 φθεγξει [τι] σφ' for φθεγξειται τι σαφ'. In v **1618** tends to support K against M (ll. 111, 115–16, 118, 148; 57 and 146 are doubtful); but in vii the opposite tendency is just as noticeable (ll. 79, 90, 109; against ll. 81–2, 85, 112), and in general the eclecticism of the papyrus is evident.

In v and vii new readings are rare, being confined to vii. 75 *αἴτ' ἐφύοντο* for *αἴτε φύοντι* and vii. 112 *Ἔβρῳ πὰρ ποταμῷ* for *Ἔβρον πὰρ ποταμὸν* (both easier than the reading of the MSS.), and vii. 92 *ἐν ὥ[ρεσι* for *ἀν' ὥρεα*, which makes no difference to the sense. The difficulties in v. 118 and 145 recur, though in v. 116, where all the MSS. except S have gone astray, **1618** has the right reading. In xv, however, where the text of Theocritus is in a much more unsettled condition, there are several novelties of importance. Chief of these is *[πέρυ]σιν* in l. 98, confirming a generally accepted conjecture of Reiske for the corrupt *σπέρχιν* or *πέρχην* of the MSS. Other valuable readings are *ὄχλος ἀλαθέως* in l. 72, which seems to account for the variants of the MSS., and *ὁ κὴν Ἀχέροντ[ι φ[ιλ]ηθείς* which removes a difficulty in l. 86; but in l. 38 *κατεί[πες* does not solve the problem of that corrupt passage. *μὴ ἀποπλαγχθῇς* for *μή τι πλανηθῇς* in l. 67 is also attractive, and *εἴθε* for *εἴ τι* in l. 70 may be right, as possibly *λαλεῦσαι* for *λαλεῦμες* in l. 92. Considering the fragmentary condition of Cols. ix–x, the gains are not inconsiderable, and **1618** as a whole is an interesting specimen of a text which stands apart from the existing families of MSS. and seems to have been at least as good as that of K. That in the later poems, from xiv onwards, the condition of the text has suffered considerably since the fifth century is now probable, but the earlier poems do not seem to have undergone much change between the fifth and thirteenth centuries. On this subject, however, much fresh light may be expected from the Antinoë papyrus, which does not overlap **1618**, and consists largely of the later poems.

With regard to the order of the *Idyls*, the placing of vii immediately after v is without parallel in the later MSS., but the arrangement in the contemporary vellum fragments published by Wessely, in which v followed iv and xxii followed xiii, xv being also represented, was possibly identical. The occurrence of fragments of xv in conjunction with v and vii suggests that xv occupied an earlier position than usual, but the absence of revision in xv supports the natural presumption that this poem followed, not preceded, v and vii, whether the interval was large or small.

Col. i (Frs. 1–2 recto).

v. 53 [στασω δε κρατηρα μεγαν λ̣ευκοιο γ̣αλ̣ακτος
[ταις Νυμφαις στασω δε και αδεος] α̣λλον ελαιω
55 [αι δε κε και τυ μολης απαλαν πτερι]ν ωδε πατησεις
[και γλαχων ανθευσαν υπεσ]σειται δε χιμαιραν
[δερματα ταν παρα τιν μαλακωτερα πολ]λακις αρνων
[στασω δ οκτω μεν γαυλως τω Παν]ι γ̣αλ̣ακτος

[οκτω δε σκαφιδας μελιτος πλεα κηρ]ι' εχοισας
[αυτοθε μοι ποτερισδε και αυτοθε βουκο]λιασδευ
[ταν σαυτω πατεων εχε τας δρυας αλλα τ]ις αμμε
[τις κρινει αιθ ενδοι ποθ ο βουκολος ωδε] Λυκωπας
[ουδεν εγω τηνω ποτιδευομαι αλλα τον αν]δρα
[αι λης τον δρυτομον βωστρησομες ος τας ερε]ικας
[τηνας τας παρα τιν ξυλοχιζεται εστι δε Μορσ]ων
15 lines lost

Col. ii (Frs. 1–2 verso).

Δαφνιν εγ[ω] δ' αυταις χ[ιμαρως δυο πραν ποκ εθυσα
και γαρ εμ Ωπολλων [φιλεει μεγα και καλον αυτω
[κρι]ον εγω βοσκω [τα δε Καρνεα και δη εφερπει
πλαν δυο τας λο[ιπας διδυματοκος αιγας α]μελγω
και μ' α παις π[οθορευσα ταλαν λεγει αυτος] αμελγεις
φευ φευ Λακα[ν τοι ταλαρως σχεδον εικατι πληροι
τυρω και τον [ανηβον εν ανθεσι παιδα μολυνει
βαλλει και μά[λοισι τον αιπολον α Κλεαριστα
τας αιγας πα[ρελωντα και αδυ τι ποππυλιασδει
κημε [γαρ ο Κρατιδας τον ποιμενα λειος υπαντων
εκμαι[νει λιπαρα δε παρ αυχενα σειετ εθειρα
αλλ' ου συ[μβλητ εστι κυνοσβατος ουδ ανεμωνα
προς ρ[οδα των ανδηρα παρ αιμασιαισι πεφυκει
15 lines lost

Col. iii (Frs. 3–6 recto).

1 line lost

τοι τεττιγε[ς ο]ρ[ητε τον αιπολον ως ερεθιζω
[ουτω]ς χυμες θην ερεθισδετ[ε τως καλαμευτας
[μισε]ω τας δασυκερκος αλ[ωπεκας αι [τα Μικωνος
]γισ
[αιει φοι]τωσαι τα πο[θεσπερα ρ]αδοντι
[κα]ι γαρ εγω μισε[ω τως κανθ]αρος οι τα Φιλ[ωνδα
[συ]κα καταρωγοντες υπανεμιοι φορεονται
[η ο]υ μεμνησ' οτ' εγων τυ κατ'ηλασα και τυ σεσαρ[ως]

[ευ] ποτεκιγκλιζευ και τας δρυος ηχεο τηνας
τουτο μεν ου μεμναμ' ο̣κ̣α̣ μαν ποκα τειδε τυ δ̣[ησας
Ευμαρας εκαθηρε κ̣α̣λ̣[ως μαλ]α̣ τουτο γ' ι̣σ̣[αμι
v. 120 [ηδη] τις Μορσ[ων πι]κ̣ρ̣α̣[ινεται η ουχι παραισθευ
[σκιλλ]α̣ς ϊω̣ν γραιας απο σα[ματος αυτικα τιλλειν
[κηγω μαν κν]ε̣ι̣ζω Μορσων τ̣ι̣ν̣α̣ κ̣α̣ι̣ τ̣[υ δε λευσσεις

4 lines lost

127 [α παι]ς α̣ν̣[θ υδατος τα καλπιδι κηρια βαψαι
[ται με]ν ε̣μ̣[αι κυτισον τε και αιγιλον αιγες εδοντι
κ[αι σ]χοινον π̣[ατεοντι και εν κομαροισι κεοντι
130 [ται]σ̣ι̣ δ' εμαις [οιεσσι παρεστι μεν α μελιτεια
[φε]ρ̣β̣ε̣σ̣θ̣α̣ι̣ [πολλος δε και ως ροδα κισθος επανθει
[ου]κ̣ εραμ' Α̣[λκιππας οτι με πραν ουκ εφιλησε
[τ]ω̣ν ωτων κ̣α̣[θελοισ' οκα οι ταν φασσαν εδωκα
αλλ εγω Ευ̣[μηδευς εραμαι μεγα και γαρ οκ αυτω
135 ταν συριγγ [ω]ρ̣[εξα καλον τι με καρτ εφιλησεν
ου θεμιτον Λ̣[ακων ποτ αηδονα κισσας ερισδειν
ουδ' εποπας κ[υκνοισι τυ δ ω ταλαν εσσι φιλεχθης

Col. iv (Frs. 3–6 verso).

1 line lost

[δωρειται Μορσων ταν αμνιδα και τυ] δε θυσα[ς
140 [ταις Νυμφαις Μορσωνι κα]λ̣ο̣ν̣ κρεας αυτικα πε[μψον
[πεμψω ναι τον] Π[ανα φρι]μ̣α̣σ̣[σ]ε̣[ο] π̣[α]σ̣α τραγισ[κων
[νυν αγελα] κηγω[ν γαρ ιδ ω]ς̣ μ̣ε̣γ̣α̣ [τουτο] κ̣α̣χ̣α̣[ξω
[καττω Λ]ακωνος τ[ω ποιμενος οττι πο]κ̣ η̣δ̣η
[ανυ]σ̣αμαν τον α̣μ̣νον ες ω̣ρ̣α̣ν̣ο̣ν̣ [υμμιν] α̣λευμαι
145 αιγες εμαι θαρσειτε κερουχιδες αυριο̣ν̣ υμμε
π̣α̣σ̣α̣ς εγω λου[σ]ω Συβαριτ̣ι̣δος ενδοθ[ι] λ̣ι̣μ̣[νας
ουτος ο λευκιτας ο κορυπτιλος ει τι ν[ι] ο̣χ̣ε̣υ̣σ̣ε̣ις
ταν αιγων φλα̣σ̣[σω] τ̣υ̣ π̣[ριν η] γ' [ε]μ̣ε̣ καλλ[ιε]ρησ[αι
ταις Νυμφαις [ταν αμνον ο δ αυ παλιν αλλα] γ̣ε̣νοιμ̣[αν
150 αι μ̣[η τ]υ̣ φλ̣[ασσαιμι Μελ]ανθιος α̣ν̣[τι Κομ]ατ[α
. . . . . (*sic*)

3 lines lost

vii. 4 [κ *Αντιγενης δυο τεκνα Λυκωπεος ει τι πε]ρ̣ [ε]σθ̣[λον*
5 [*χαων των ετ ανωθεν απο Κλυτιας τε] και αυτω̣ [*
6 [Χαλκωνος Βουριναν ος εκ ποδος ανυε] κραναν
7 [*ευ γ ενερεισαμενος πετρα γονυ ται] δε παρ αυ[ταν*
6 [*Χαλκωνος Βουριναν ος εκ ποδος ανυε κ]ραναν [*
8 [*αιγειροι π]τελ[εαι τε ευσκιον αλσος ε]φα[ι]ν[ον*
[*χλωροισι]ν π[εταλοισι κατηρεφεες κομ]ω̣σαι*
10 [*κουπω] ταν [μεσαταν οδον ανυμες ου]δε το σαμα*
[*αμιν το Β]ρασι[λα κατεφαινετο και το]ν οδιταν*
ε[σθλον συ]ν Μ[οισαισι Κυδωνικον ευ]ρο̣μ[ε]ς ἀνδρα
ουν[ομα] με[ν Λυκιδαν ης δ αιπολος ουδε] κε τις μιν

Cols. v–vi lost

Col. vii (Fr. 7 recto).

68 [*κνυζα τ]' ασφοδελ[ω τε πολυγναμπτω τε σελινω*
[*και πιο]μ̣α̣ι μαλακως μεμνημένος* Αγεανακτος
70 [*αυταισ]ιν κυλίκε[σ]σι και ε[ς τρυγ]α χεῖλος ερειδων*
[*αυλησ]εῦντι[[ν]] δε μοι δύο [π]οιμεν[ε]ς εἶς μεν Αχαρνεὺς*
[*εις δε] Λυκωπίτας [ο] δε Τιτυρο[ς εγγ]υθεν αι[σει*
[*ως πο]κα τα Ξανές ηράσσατο [Δα]φνις ο βουτας*
[*χως] ορος αμφ' επονεῖτο και ως δρύες αυτον εθρ[ην]εν
75 [*Ι]με[ρ]α αιτ' εφύοντο παρ όχθαισιν ποταμοῖο*
ευτε χιὼν ὡς τις κατετάκετο μακρὸν ὕφ' Αἷμ[ον
η Ἄθω· ἢ Ροδόπαν ἢ Καύκασον εσχατόω[ν]τα
ασει δ' ως ποκ' [ε]δεκτο τον αιπόλον ευρεα λάρναξ
ζωὸν εόντα κακ[α]ῖσιν ατασθαλίησιν ανακτος
80 *ως τε νιν αι σιμ[αι λ]ειμωνόθε φερβον ἴοισαι*
κεδρον ες αδειαν [μαλ]ακοις ἄνθεσι μέλισσαι
οι
ουνεκα γλυκὺ Μοισ[α] κατα [στ]όματος χέε νέκταρ
[ω] μακαριστε Κομᾶτα τυ θην ταδε τερπνὰ πεπονθε[ις
[κα]ὶ τὺ κατεκλάσθης ες λα[ρ]νακα και τυ μελισσᾶν
85 [*κηρια] φερβόμενος έτος [ωρ]ιον εξεπόνησας·*
[αιθ επ] εμοι ζωοῖς εναρ[ιθ]μιος ὤφελες ἦμεν
[ως τοι εγ]ὼν ενόμευον ἀν ὥρεα τας καλας αιγας

[φωνας ει]σαίων τυ δ' υπο δρυσὶν η γ' υπο πευκα[ις
[αδυ με]λισδόμε[ν]ος κατεκ[ε]κλ[[ε]]ισο θ[ειε] Κομ[ατα
vii. 90 [χω μεν] τοσσ' ειπων απεπαύσατο [τον δ]ε μ[ετ] αυ[θις
[κηγων τ]οι εφα[μα]ν Λυκίδα φίλε π[ο]λλα [μ]εν αλ[λα
[Νυμφ]αι κημ' εδιδ[αξα]ν εν ώ[ρεσι βουκ]ολ[εοντα

Col. viii (Fr. 7 verso).

[εσθλα τα που κα]ι Ζ[α]νο[ς] ε[π]ι [θ]ρόν[ο]ν άγαγ[ε φαμα
[αλλα τογ εκ] π[α]ν[τ]ων μεγ' υπειροχον οττι γ' αείδειν
95 [αρξευμ] αλλ [υπ]ακο[υσ]ον επε[ι] φ[ιλ]ος επλε[ο Μοισαις
Σιμιχιδαι μ[εν] Ερωτες επέπταρον· ή γαρ [ο δειλος
[τοσσ]ον [ερα Μ]υρτους ο[σον] είαρος αΐγες εραν[τι
Αρατος δ ο [τα] πάντα φιλαίτατος ανερι τήνω
παιδος υπο σπλάγχνοισιν εχει πόθον οΐδεν [Αριστις
100 εσθλος ανὴρ μετ' αριστος ὸν ουδέ κεν αυτος αειδ[ειν
Φοίβος συν φόρμιγγι παρα τριπόδεσσι μετάιροι
ως εκ παιδος Άρατος ϋπ οστεον αιθ'-ετ' έρωτι
τον μοι Παν Ομόλας ερατὸν [π]έδον ὡστε λέλογχας
ἀκλητον κε[ίνο]ιο φίλας ε[ς χ]ειρας ερείσαις
105 ειτ' εστ' αρα Φιλίνος ὁ μαλ[θα]κὸς είτε τις αλλος
κει μεν ταῦθ' έρδοις ω Π[αν] φίλε· μη τι συ παΐδες
Αρκαδικοὶ σκίλλα[ι]σιν ϋπο πλευρας τε καὶ ωμ[ου]ς
[τ]ανίκα μαστίζοιεν οτε κρέα τυτθὰ παρείη [
ει δ άλλως νευσαις κατα μεν χρόα παντ' [ονυχεσσι
εν ακαληφαις
110 δακνόμενος κνα[σαιο] και εν κνίδαισι [καθευδοις
[ει]ης δ' Ηδ[ω]νων με[ν ε]ν ώρεσι χείματ[ι μεσσω
[Εβ]ρω πα[ρ] ποταμω τ[ε]τραμμένο[ς εγγυθεν αρκτου
εν δε θέ[ρε]ι πυματοισι [π]α[ρ] Αι[θι]όπεσσι ν[ομευοις
πετραι [υπ]ο Βλεμύων όθεν ουκέτι Νε[ιλος ορατος
115 υμμε[ς δ Υ]ετιδος καὶ Βυβλιδος αδὺ λ[ιποντες
[να]μα κ[αι Οικευ]ντα ξαν[θ]ᾶς [εδ]ος αιπὺ Δι[ωνας
[ω μ]άλο[ισιν Ερωτε]ς ερε[υθομέν]οισιν ομο[ιοι

Some columns lost

Col. ix (Frs. 8–16 recto).

xv. 38 [αλλα κατα γ]νωμαν απ[εβα τοι το]υτο κατ'ει̣π̣[ες
[τωμ]̣π̣εχ̣[ο]νον φερε μοι κ̣[αι ταν] θολι̣α̣ν κατα [κοσμον
40 [αμφ]ιθες ουκ αξω τυ τεκν̣[ον μο]ρ̣μ̣ω δακν̣[ει ιππος
[δα]κ̣ρυ̣ε̣ [ο]σσα θελεις χωλο̣ν̣ [δ ου δ]ε̣ι τυ γεν̣[εσθαι
[ερπωμε]ς̣ Φρυγια τον μ[ικκον παι]σδε λαβ̣[οισα
[ταν κυν' ε]σω καλεσον τ[αν αυλειαν] α̣[ποκλαξον
[ω θεοι οσσο]ς̣ οχ̣[λ]ος πω[ς και ποκα το]υ̣το π̣[ερασαι
45 [χρη το κακο]ν̣ μυρμα̣[κες αναριθ]μ̣ο̣ι κ̣[αι αμετ]ρ̣ο̣[ι
[πολλα τοι ω Πτ]ολε[μαιε πεποιηται καλα εργ]α
[εξ ω εν αθανατοις ο τεκων ουδεις κακοεργ]ος
3 lines lost
51 α[δι]στα [Γοργοι τι γενοιμεθα τοι πολεμισται
ἱππ[ο]ι τ̣[ω] β̣[ασιληος ανερ φιλε μη με πατησης
[ο]ρθος α̣[ν]εσ̣τ̣[α ο πυρρος ιδ ως αγριος κυνοθαρσης
α[ ]
Ευνο συ̣ φε̣[υξη διαχρησειται τον αγοντα
55 ωνα̣[θ]η̣ν μ[εγαλως οτι μοι το βρεφος μενει ενδον
θαρ[σει Πραξινοα και δη γεγενημεθ οπισθεν
τοι δ [εβαν ες χωραν καυτα συναγειρομαι ηδη
1 line lost
[εκ π]αι[δος σπευδωμες οχλος πολυς αμμιν επιρρ]ει
60 [εξ] αυλ[ας ω] μ̣α̣[τε]ρ εγ[ων ω τεκνα παρενθε]ι̣[ν]
ε̣υμαρε̣[ς] εις Τροιαν π[ειρωμενοι ην]θον Αχαιοί
[κα]λλισται παιδων π[ειραι θην παντα] τελειται
[χρησ]μως α π[ρεσβυτις απωιχετο θεσ]π̣ιξασα
[παν]τ̣α γυνα[ικες ισαντι και ως Ζευς αγ]ά̣γεθ' Ηραν
65 [θασα]ι̣ Π̣ρ̣[αξινοα περι τας] θυρ[ας οσσος ο]μιλος
[θεσπεσιος Γοργοι δος] ταν χερα μ[οι λα]βε και τυ
[Ευνοα Ευτυχιδος πο]τ'εχ' αυτας μη [α]ποπλαγχθης
[πασαι αμ εισενθωμες] απριξ εχευ Ε[υ]νοα αμων
[οιμοι δειλαια διχα μευ] το θεριστριον η̣[δ]η

Col. x (Frs. 8–16 verso). Plate iv.

xv. 70 [εσχιστ]αι Γοργοι ποτ-[τω Διος ε]ἰθε γενοιο
[ευδαιμω]ν ωνθρωπε [φυλασ]σευ τ᾽ ονπεχονο[ν μ]ευ [
[ουκ επ ε]μιν μεν ομ[ως δε] φυλαξομαι οχλος ἀλαθεω[ς
[ωθευνθ] ωσπ̣ε̣[ρ νες θαρσε]ι γυναι εν καλω ε̣ἰμες
·[κεις ωρα]ς κ̣η̣π̣ε[ιτα φιλ α]νδρων εν καλω ε[ιης
75 [αμμε περισ]τελ᾽[λ]ω̣[ν χρηστου κ]οικτειρμονος α[νδρος
[φλιβεται] Ε̣υ̣ν̣[οα αμμιν α]γ᾽ ω δειλα [τ]υ βι[αζευ
[κ]ἀλλισ̣[τ εν]δο[ι πασαι ο ταν ν]υον ει[π]᾽ α[ποκλαξας
[Πρ]αξ̣ι̣[νοα] π̣ο̣[ταγ ωδε τα ποικ]ιλα πρατο[ν αθρησον
[λε]πτα [και ως χαριεντα θεων περον]ἀ[ματα φασεις
80 [πο]τ̣ν̣[ι Αθηναια ποιαι σφ επονασαν εριθοι
3 lines lost
[αυτος δ ως θαητος επ αργυρεας κατακειτ]αι
85 [κλισμω πρατον ιουλον απο κροταφων] κ[ατα]βαλλω̄
[ο τριφιλητος Αδωνις ο κην Αχερον]τι φ[ιλ]ηθεις
[παυσασθ ω δυστανοι ανανυτα κωτιλλ]οισ̣[α]ι
[τρυγονες εκκναισευντι πλατειασδοισα]ι ἀ[παν]τα
[μα ποθεν ωνθρωπος τι δε τιν ει κωτιλαι ειμε]ς
90 [πασσαμενος επιτασσε Συρακοσιαις επιτασ]σεις [
[ως ειδης και τουτο Κορινθιαι ειμες ανωθεν]
[ως και ο Βελλεροφων Πελοποννασιστι λαλ]ευσαι [
[δω]ρ̣ισ̣δ̣[εν δ εξεστι δο]κ̣ω̣ τοις [Δ]ωρ̣[ιεε]σσι
μη φυη Μ[ελιτωδες ος αμων] κ̣ἀρτερο̣[ς] ειη
95 πλα[ν] εν[ος ουκ αλεγω μη μοι κενεα]ν̣ απομαξης
σ[ι]γη Πρ[αξινοα μελλει τον Αδωνι]ν̣ ἀειδε[ιν
α τας Αργε̣[ιας θυγατη]ρ̣ [πολυιδρις α]ι̣[δος
ατις και [περυ]σιν τον ἴ̈ἀλ̣[εμον αριστευσε
φθεγξει [τι] σφ᾽ οιδα καλο[ν διαθρυπτεται ηδη
100 δεσποιν᾽ [α] Γολγως τε και Ι[δαλιον εφιλησας

v. 53. The vestiges of ll. 53, 56, 58, 60–2, and 65 are too slight to give a real clue.

57. πολ]λακις: so KH²AE (and O according to Wilamowitz, who, however, elsewhere states that this MS. begins at l. 62); τετράκις MPQTH¹. There are fairly distinct traces of λ, but possibly it was corrected from or to ρ by the first hand.

87. τυρω: the ω seems to have been corrected from ον.

111. *χυμες*: so K; *κ' ὔμμες* or *χ' ὔμμες* the rest.

ερεθισδετ[ε: so most MSS.; *ἐρεθίζετε* KMP.

114. *εγω*: so MSS.; *ἐγὼν* edd. since Brunck. Cf. l. 116, where **1618** has *εγων*, but most MSS. and edd. *ἐγώ*.

115. *φορεονται*: so KOHA; *ποτέονται* MPQTV, v. l. in schol.

116. *[η ο]υ*: *η* is omitted by OPTQ[1] Tricl., but must have been written here.

μεμνησ': so KP (*μεμνασ'*) according to Hiller; but according to Wilamowitz KP have *μέμνα* like MHA[1]E, others reading *μέμνασ'*.

οτ': so MSS.; *ὅκ'* Tricl., edd. For *εγων* cf. l. 114, n.

117. *ηχεο*: l. *ειχεο*.

118. *μαν ποκα*: so K *γρ.* (*ὅκα μάν ποκα τίν τοι δήσας*) M[2]PQT[1]H[1]S[2] Tricl.; *μὰν* the rest; *μάν τοι* Wilamowitz.

τειδε: so K; *τεῖνδε* P; *τῆνδε* Q; *τῆδε* MOAS.

121. *[σκιλλ]ας ἴων*: the reading is uncertain, but no variant is known.

129. *σ]χοινον*: so ASL; *σχῖνον* other MSS., edd.

144. *τον*: so MSS. except K[2] (*τὰν*; so edd.).

145. *κερουχιδες*: so MSS. *κερουλίδες* and *κερουλκίδες* are vv. ll. in the scholia; *κερούτιδες* Ahrens.

146. *λιμ[νας*: so MAE; but the vestiges are too slight to decide with certainty between this and *κρο[νας* (KOP).

148. *η γ' [ε]με*: so KO &c.; *ἦ ἐμὲ* M[1]PQ Tricl.; *ἤ γέ με* Schaefer. Cf. vii. 88, n.

vii. 5–6. The *υ* of *αυτω[* has a stroke through it in the black ink used by the corrector, and it is not clear whether he rewrote that letter or was making a flourish at the end of *κραναν* when inserting l. 6 in its proper place. Line 7 was placed before l. 6 by the first hand. The final letter of *κραναν* is not much like *ν* in either place, but no variant is known.

8. *ἔφαινον* is the reading of the MSS., corrected to *ὔφαινον* by Heinsius, comparing Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 42 *lentae texunt umbracula uites*. All that survives in the papyrus is an accent by the corrector (as is that in l. 12) and traces which are reconcilable with *φα* and *ν*.

10. The first hand apparently wrote *σημα*.

12–13. It is not certain that the fragment containing *ε[* and *ουν[* at the beginnings of lines is correctly placed here.

13. *μιν*: apparently corr. from *νιν*, rather than vice versa. *μιν* MSS.; *νιν* edd.

69. The first hand perhaps wrote *Αγιανακτος* like P.

70. *αυταισ]ιν*: so (or *αὐταῖσι*) MSS.; *αὔταισιν* Schaefer; *αὐταῖς ἐν* Valckenaer. The traces of a letter preceding *ν* do not suit *ε*.

71. The *ν* of *αυλησ]ευντι* seems to have been corrected or added by the second hand, which crossed out the superfluous *ν* at the end.

73. *τα Ξανές*: l. *τας Ξενέας* (or *ξενέας*) with KMO &c.; *ξενίας* PS; a v. l. *ξανθᾶς* (i. e. *Ξάνθας*) is recorded by the scholia.

74. *αμφ' επονειτο*: so Ahrens; *ἀμφεπονεῖτο* Wil. with KPH; *ἀμφεπολεῖτο* OSQAE Tricl.; in M *ν* is corr. from *λ*. The apostrophe does not necessarily imply that the scribe regarded *αμφ* and *επονειτο* as two words; cf. e. g. v. 116 *κατ'ηλασα*.

75. *αιτ' εφύοντο*: *αἵτε φύοντι* MSS. The intransitive use of *φύω* is very rare in early writers, but occurs again in Theocr. iv. 24 *καλὰ πάντα φύοντι* (where, however, HS read *φύονται*) and in Mosch. iii. 108. *αιτ' εφυοντο* removes a difficulty, but may be only an emendation or a slip due to the other imperfects; cf. xv. 86, n.

78. The first hand wrote *αισει* and seems to have omitted *ξ* of *λαρναξ*.

79. *ατασθαλίησιν*: so M; *ἀτασθαλίαισιν* KP.

80. λ]ειμωνόθε: λειμωνόθεν KP; λειμωνοθι M; λειμωνόθε the rest (?). Above the νο the corrector has apparently crossed out a grave accent by the first hand, which at the end of the line seems to have written ιουσαι like P.

81. ἀνθεσι: so K; l. ἀνθεσσι.

82. [στ]όματος χέε: so KP &c.; στόμα ἔγχεε M.

83. Κομᾶτα: the MSS. wrongly accentuate this paroxytone.

πεπονθε[ις: ονθε is very doubtful, and πεπετ . . might be read; but no variant is known.

85. εξεπόνησας: so most MSS. (ἐξεπόνασας); ἐξετέλεσσας OM and v. l. in the scholia.

86. εμοι: so most MSS.; ἐμεῦ P, edd.

88. η γ' υπο: ἢ ὑπὸ MSS. There is room for two letters between η and υ, and γ' is uncertain; but cf. v. 148.

90. απεπαύσατο: so most MSS., edd.; ἀνεπαύσατο K.

92. κημ' εδιδ[αξα]ν: κἠμὲ δίδαξαν MSS. apparently.

εν ώ[ρεσι: ἀν' ὤρεα MSS., a reading which may well be due to the proximity of ἀν' ὤρεα in l. 87. Cf. int.

94. οττι γ' αειδειν: so O Tricl. and v. l. in the scholia. The vestiges are very faint, but do not suit ω τυ γεραιρε(ι)ν, the ordinary reading.

96. ἡ: l. ἢ.

98. Αρατος: so KMPQA¹; Ὥρατος SA² Tricl.

100. μετ': l. μεγ'. Cf. the next note.

101. μεταιροι: μεγαίροι MSS. except P (μεγαίρει). Probably the first hand wrote μεγαιροι, and the corrector altered it wrongly, being apparently under the influence of the incorrect μετ' in l. 100. The τ is clear; με-γαιροι (cf. l. 102, n.) cannot be read.

102. The first hand had divided wrongly αιθ' ετ, which the corrector altered by a stroke connecting θ and ε; cf. xv. 70, n.

103. Ομόλας: so KM; ὁμόλου HO; ὁμόλου with ω suprascr. P; Μαλέας Ahrens.

ὥστε: l. ὅστε.

104. κε[ίνο]ιο: so KMP &c.; τήνοιο H. Above the κ is a superfluous accent added by the corrector.

ερείσαις: the corrector apparently added an accent above ερ, but crossed it out, adding one over ισ, though that is really more like a rough breathing.

105. ειτ' εστ' αρα Φιλίνος: so MSS. except S (εἴτε Φ. ἄρ' ἐστίν). **1618**'s accent on Φιλίνος should have been circumflex.

106. κει: so S, edd.; κἢν the rest.

ταῖθ': so H &c.; ταῦτ' KMP.

ἑρδοις: so KMPE²; ἔρδεις HSE¹.

συ: so K²; τυ most MSS. and edd.

108. μαστίζοιεν: μαστισδοιεν MSS. apparently.

109. νευσαις: so most MSS.; νεύσεις K; νεύσοις PS. What the first hand wrote instead of αλλως is obliterated.

110. With the gloss on εν κνίδαισι cf. schol. κνίδη ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἀκαλήφη δὲ ὑπ' Ἀττικῶν.

111. ὠρεσι: οὔρεσι, KMP &c.

112. [Εβ]ρω πο[ρ] ποταμω: a new reading. The first hand wrote [Εβ]ρον πο[ρ] ποταμον. ἔβρον παρ ποτ. S; εὖρον παρ ποτ. KMOPHA. Cf. int.

τ[ε]τραμμένο[ς: so most MSS.; κεκλιμένος K γρ. MPTQ¹; τετραμμένον some late MSS. The corrector at any rate must have read -μένος, not -μένον.

113. The first hand wrote Α[θι]οποισι.

116. Οικευ]ντα: so S and schol.; οἰκεῦνταν O; οἰκεῦντες the rest; Οἰκοῦντα Hecker.

XV. 38. το]υτο κατ'ειπ̣ες: τοῦτο κα ϵ. KL; τ. καλὸν ϵ. PHS²AE; τ. καλ' ϵ. some late MSS.; τοῦ τόκα ϵ. or ναὶ καλὸν εἶπας the old edd. Cf. int.

41. [δα]κρυε: so MSS.; δάκρυ' edd.

[ο]σσα θελεις: so KP &c.; ὅσσ' ἐθέλεις HS. *θ* is corr. from λ or *π* by the first hand.

42. παι]σδε: so most MSS.; παῖδα K.

54. Ευνοα συ φε[υξη: Εὐνόα σὺ φειξῇ MSS. It is possible that *ο* was added above the line after *α*[, but the *σ* of *συ* was not corrected.

59. επιρρ]ει: these two letters are on a separate fragment of which the position is uncertain.

60. ϵγ[ων ω τεκνα παρενθϵ]ι[ν. The supposed *ι* is represented by the tip of a stroke above the *χ* of Αχαιοί in l. 61, which suggests *ι* or *ρ*. The MSS. vary between τέκνα εἶτα *π*. H¹SW Tricl., ὦ τέκνα εἶτα *π*. AEL, and ὦ τέκνα *π*. KPH². The objection to the restoration of either of the first two readings is that παρενθϵ]ι[ν would not come at the right point and with πα]ρ[ενθειν the last letter or two would be expected to be visible, whereas a vestige of ink at the end of the line is too near the supposed *ρ* to be the final *ν* of ενθει]ν and seems to be the accent of Αχαιοί.

62. [κα]λλιστται: so D and another Paris MS. according to Ahrens, and a Venetian MS. according to Ziegler; κάλλιστϵ P; καλλίστα K &c., Wil.

64. Ηραν: so KP; Ἥρην most MSS.

67. αυτας: αὐτᾶ(ι) or αἰτά MSS.; αὖτα Wil.

μη [α]ποπλαγχθης: μή τι (or τυ) πλωνηθῇς MSS. ἀποπλαγχθῇς, an aorist often found in Homer, may well be right. For the hiatus cf. e. g. the reading of the MSS. in vii. 88.

68. εχευ: so most MSS.; ἔχϵ KH.

αμων: so most MSS. rightly; δωμά K; δμωίς P.

70. Γοργοι: so most MSS.; Γοργὼ KE. For the stroke connecting *ποτ* and *τω* (by the first hand) cf. vii. 102, n.

ϵ]ιθϵ: εἴ τι MSS. Cf. int.

71. φυλασ]σευ: so S; φυλάσσεο the rest.

τ' ονπεχονι[ν: l. τὠμπεχονι[ν.

72. φυλαξομαι: so MSS.; φυλαξοῖμαι the ancient editions.

αλαθεω[ς: ἀθέως K; ἀθρόως PA; ἄθρως M; ἀθρόος (sometimes after ὄχλος) other MSS.; ἀθαρέως Ahrens. αλαθεως accounts satisfactorily for the reading of K and the attempts to emend it. The traces suit *ς α* very well.

77. ϵν]δο[ι: if ϵν]δϵ[ν, the usual form in the MSS., had been written, part of the *ν* would have been expected to be visible; but this is not certain.

86. Αδωνις ο κην Αχερον]τι φ[ιλ]ηθεις: Ἄδ. ὃ κὴν Ἀχ. φιλεῖται most MSS. apparently (φιλῆται K); Ἄδ. ὃς κὴν Ἀχ. φιλεῖται PV; Ἄδων ὃς κὴν Ἀχ. φιλεῖται Ahrens; Ἄδωνις ὁ κὴν Ἀχ. φιλητός Reiske, which comes near the reading of the papyrus. ὅ for ὅς relative, though common in Homer, seems to be very rare, if found at all, elsewhere in Theocritus; but φιληθείς would be a natural emendation to some one who misunderstood ο . . . φιλειται. Cf. int. and vii. 75, n.

92. λαλ]ευσαι: λαλεῦμες MSS. Cf. int.

94. ειη: or ειηι.

96. σιγη: so K; σίγα other MSS.

98. [περυ]σιν: so Reiske for σπέρχιν or πέρχην (K). The restoration is fairly certain, for though ϵ (but no other letter) might possibly be read instead of *σ*, there is not room for five letters in the lacuna, and the traces suit *σ* better. Cf. int.

99. φθεγξει [τι] σφ': φθεγξεῖ τί σάφα P; φθεγξεῖταί τι σάφ' other MSS. rightly.

100. Γολγως: so K; γολγώ or γολγόν the rest.

1619. Herodotus iii.

Fr. 10 10·8 × 13·5 cm. Late first or early second century. Plate V (Fr. 10).

These portions of a roll containing the third book of Herodotus belong, like **1092** (fragments of the second book in a different hand), to the large find of literary papyri made in 1906 which produced **1082–3**, **1174–6**, **1231**, **1233–5**, **1359–61**, **1610–11**, &c. About 40 pieces, subsequently reduced by combinations to 25, have been identified; but several of the still more fragmentary texts accompanying the Herodotus were written in hands so similar that small pieces of the various texts can hardly be distinguished, and two of these MSS., Homer, N–Ξ and a tragedy (?), seem to have been actually written by the scribe of the Herodotus: we have therefore ignored for the present a large number of unidentified scraps. Parts of about 220 lines scattered over chs. 26–72 are preserved, the earlier columns being better represented than the later. The hand is a well-formed round uncial of medium size, of the same class as P. Brit. Mus. 128 (Homer Ψ–Ω; Kenyon, *Class. Texts*, Plate viii, there dated too early), 8 (Alcman?; Part i, Plate ii), and the Berlin Alcaeus (Schubart, *Pap. Graecae*, Plate xxix b), and no doubt belongs to the period from A. D. 50 to 150. Some documents of the Domitian-Trajan period, e. g. **270** (A. D. 94; Part ii, Plate viii) and P. Fay. 110 (A. D. 94; Plate v), are written in practically uncial hands of a similar type, and the care with which iota adscript is inserted also supports a late first-century date. K is written in two pieces separated by a space, and Υ is ψ-shaped. The columns had 39–40 lines, and the beginnings of lines tended to slope away slightly to the left. The lines range from 21–6 or 27 letters, with an average of 23–4. The common angular sign is used for filling up short lines. Punctuation was effected by short blank spaces and paragraphi, which in the case of longer pauses are combined with a coronis, as e. g. in the British Museum Bacchylides papyrus. A few stops (in the middle and low positions) which occur (ll. 177, 332, and 410) are not due to the original scribe; but he was responsible for the breathings in ll. 180 and 434, the occasional diaereses over initial ι or υ, as well as for the insertion above the line of an omitted word (l. 446), and probably for the corrections or alternative readings added above the line between dots in ll. 143, 327, and 380. The MS. has undergone considerable revision, for at least two cursive or semiuncial hands, which are different from that of the main text but approximately contemporary with it, can be distinguished in various notes in the upper margin or between the columns, either correcting or explaining the text (ll. 69, 131, 355, 379, 410, nn.).

1619 is nearly 1½ times as long as **1092**, which is much the longest Herodotean papyrus published hitherto; the others, most of which also come from Oxyrhynchus (**18**, **19**, **695**, **1244**, **1375**, P. Munich in *Archiv*, i, p. 471, Ryl. 55, Brit. Mus. 1109 in Viljoen, *Herodoti fragmenta in papyris servata*, p. 44; cf. also the lemmata in P. Amh. 12), are quite small. Since **1619** is also the earliest or one of the earliest authorities for the author (P. Munich is ascribed to the first or second century, the rest to the second or third), it is of considerable value for the history of the text. The mediaeval MSS. are divided into two groups known as (*α*) the Florentine, headed by A (tenth century) and B (eleventh century), and (*β*) the Roman, headed by RSV (all fourteenth century): C, an eleventh century MS. of group (*α*), P (fourteenth century; mixed) and E (excerpts only; thirteenth century) and other late MSS. are unimportant. Stein gave a decided preference to (*α*), regarding unsupported readings of (*β*), which had been preferred by Cobet and other scholars, as in most cases conjectures. Hude puts the value of the two families almost on an equality, with a slight preference for (*α*). **1619** bears practically the same relation as **1092** to the two groups, the agreements with (*α*) being nearly twice as numerous as those with (*β*). A similar relation is traceable in two of the other Herodotean papyri (**19** and **1244**; the others, so far as they go, support (*α*), except P. Amh. 12); and the evidence is now sufficiently extensive both to afford a substantial justification of the eclectic method pursued by Hude before the appearance of **1092**, and to confirm the natural superiority on the whole of the older group. The tendency to attest the antiquity of suspected interpolations, which is so often exhibited by papyrus texts and is already traceable in regard to Herodotus (cf. Viljoen, *op. cit.* p. 59), is illustrated by **1619** in ll. 28 and 69, where *τῶν κακῶν* probably and *καλεομένους* certainly occurred, though in both cases bracketed even by Hude, who is more conservative in this respect than his predecessors. Other passages in which the text of the mediaeval MSS. is confirmed against changes introduced by modern scholars are ll. 17, 147, 168, 333, and 411. Here the traditional reading can generally be defended without much difficulty, but not in l. 168, nor perhaps in l. 333. With regard to new readings, in l. 108, a passage in which the repetition of the same word *σκύλαξ* had caused a difficulty, **1619** omits the word in the third place in which it occurs in the MSS., while modern editors have proposed to omit it in the second, and in l. 267 the redundancy of the expression *οὐ πολλῷ μετέπειτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον* is remedied by the apparent omission of *ὕστερον*. The addition of *τῆς* before *ἐν Αἰγίνῃ* in ll. 383–4 may well be right, but the omission of *ὧν* after *τούτων* in l. 320 may be merely a slip. The solution of the crux in l. 319, where the MSS. are corrupt and **1619** had a shorter reading, is barred by a lacuna; cf. ll. 443–4, n. The other new readings concern the dialect,

in which respect **1619** is not conspicuously more correct than the MSS., as is shown by e.g. the forms ἐδικαιεῦντο (l. 19), κρίσει (l. 175), and σφε (l. 344). πρῆχμα, an alternative reading in ll. 327 and 380, though not found in the MSS., is known in the fifth century B.C. from a Chian inscription; cf. Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, § 350. For Καμβύσην, a new form of the accusative as far as Herodotus is concerned, see l. 176, n. Regarded as a whole, the text of **1619** is free from scribe's errors (one seems to have occurred in l. 374, another in l. 131 to have been corrected subsequently) and generally sound, presenting not many novelties, but combining most of the good points in both the families (*α*) and (*β*). Of an alternative recension with great variations, such as that indicated in **1092**. ix. there is no trace.

Before the discovery of Herodotean papyri the origin of the two lines of tradition represented by the MSS. was naturally not the subject of much discussion. Editors of Herodotus from Wesseling to even Hude were content to assume the existence of an archetype of the two families, and to aim at reconstructing it without much regard for the question whether it was Alexandrian, Roman, or Byzantine. In 1909 Aly (*Rhein. Mus.* lxiv. 591 sqq.) put forward the hypothesis that (*α*) mainly represented the Alexandrian text as edited by Aristarchus, (*β*) the pre-Alexandrian vulgate in a redaction of the time of Hadrian; but this view, which would cut the ground from the archetype-theory, has not gained much acceptance, and is controverted by Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenclycl.* Suppl. ii. 516–17. **1619** certainly does not lend it any support. Jacoby himself is also sceptical about the validity of the current archetype-theory, and is disposed to regard the two families as quite ancient recensions, parallel to the papyri. But the most natural inference to be drawn from the eclectic character of **1092** and **1619** is that these first–second century papyrus texts were older than the division of the families (*α*) and (*β*), which seems to have taken place not earlier than the fourth century; cf. **1092**. int. and Viljoen, *op. cit.* p. 56. By the first century the text of Herodotus had reached a condition which is only slightly better than the text recoverable from a combination of (*α*) and (*β*).

Frs. 3, 7, 10, and 20 are from the tops of columns, Fr. 14 from the bottom, the rest from the middles. The point of division of lines is quite uncertain in Frs. 1, 2, 13, 23, and 24, and the proposed arrangement of Frs. 9, 20, and 25 is only tentative.

Col. i (Fr. 1).			Col. iii (Fr. 2).	
αγωγο]ὺς ἀ[πικομενοι	26	6	ἐπ]ιφ[α]ί[νεσθαι	27
ἐ]ἰσι ἐ[ς			] τοτε παντ[ες	

εχο]υσι μ[εν
Αισχριωνι ης φυ̣λης
απε̣χου̣[σι

κεχαρη]κοτες ορτα[ζοιεν
] ο Καμβυ[σης

Col. iv (Frs. 3–6).

[ριων αξιος μεν γε Αιγυ]πτιων 29
[ουτος γε ο θεος αταρ τοι] ὔμεις
[γε ου χαιροντες γελωτα] εμε θη
σεσθε ταυτα ειπας ενε̣τειλατο
[τοισι ταυτα πρησσουσι του]ς μεν
ι̣ρεας απομαστιγωσαι Αι]γυπτι
[ων δε των αλλων τον αν λ]αβω
[σι ορταζοντ]α κτειν[ειν ορ]τ̣η μεν
[δη διελελυ]τ̣ο Αιγυπτιο[ισι] οι δε
ι̣ρεες εδικαι̣ευντο ο δ[ε Απ[ις›
[πεπληγμε]νος τον μη[ρον εφθι
νε [εν τωι ι]ρωι κατακ[ειμενος
και [τον μεν] τελευτησ[αντα εκ
του τ[ρωματο]ς εθαψα[ν οι ιρεες
λαθρ[ηι Καμ]βυσε[ω Καμβυσης 30
δε ως [λεγουσι Αιγυπτιοι αυτικα
δια τ[ουτο το αδικημα εμανη
εων [ουδε προτερον φρενηρης
και π[ρωτα μεν των κακων εξερ
[γασατο τον αδ]ελφε[ον Σμερδιν ε
[οντα πατρος και] μητ[ρος της αυ
[της τον απεπε]μψε [ες Περσας
[φθονωι εξ Αιγυ]πτου ο[τι το τοξον
[μουνος Περσεω]ν ο̣σο̣ν [τε επι δυο
15 lines lost

Col. v (Frs. 7–8).

[βασ]ιληιοι δικασται
ι̣τοτατος αποκτενεοντ]α μιν ο 30
[δε αναβας ες Σουσα α]πεκτεινε
Σμερδιν οι μεν λεγο]υσι επ α
γρην εξαγ]α̣γον[τα οι δε ες] τ̣ην Ε
[ρυθρην θα]λασσαν πρ̣[οαγαγον
τα κατ]αποντωσαι πρω[τον μεν 31
[δη λεγ]ουσι Καμβυσηι τ[ων κα
κων αρ]ξαι τουτο δευτε[ρα δε ε
[ξεργα]σατο την αδελφε[ην επι
[σπομε]νην οι ες Αι[γ]υ[πτον τηι
[και συνοικε]ε και η̣[ν οι απ αμ
[φοτερων αδε]λφεη [εγημε δε αυ
την ωδ]ε ουδαμ[ως γαρ εωθε
[σαν προ]τερον τ̣ηι̣σ̣ι̣ αδε̣λφεησι
[συνοι]κεειν Περσαι ηρα[σθη
μιης τω]ν αδελφεων Καμβυση̣ι̣ς
και επει]τα βουλομενος αυτην
[γημαι οτι ο]υκ εωθοτα επενοε
ε ποιησειν ειρε]τ̣ο καλεσας›
[τους βασιληιους κα]λεομενους≤
[δικαστας ει τις εστι κ]ελευων νο
[μος τον βουλομενον α]δελφε[ηι
[συνοικεειν οι δε βασιλη]ι̣οι [δι
About 16 lines lost

Col. vi (Fr. 9).

About 15 lines lost
]κωμειν[ου δε του σκυλακος αδελ 32
]φεον αυτ[ου αλλον σκυλακα απο
ρ]ηξαντα [τον δεσμον παραγε
ν]εσθαι οι δ[υο δε γενομενους ου
τ]ω δη επι[κρατησαι του σκυμ
νου κα]ι̣ τον [μεν Καμβυσην ηδε
About 18 lines lost

Col. vii (Frs. 10. i, 11). Plate v

κα εμιμησαο τον Κυρου] οικον
[αποψιλωσας τον δε θυμ]ωθεν
[τα εμπηδησαι αυτηι εχου]σηι
[εν γαστρι και μιν εκτρω]σαν α εκτρωσασ
[ποθανειν ταυτα μεν] ες τους οι
κ[ε]ι[οτατους ο Καμβυσ]ης εξεμα
νη ειτ[ε δη δια τον Απι]ν ειτε και
αλλως οια [πολ]λα [εωθε] ανθρω
πους καταλαμβα[νειν] και γαρ τι
να και εκ γενεης [νουσο]ν μεγα
λην λεγεται ε[χειν ο Καμβυση]ς
[τ]ην ϊρην ονο[μαζουσι τινες ου
νυν τοι αεικ[ες ουδεν ην του σω
ματος νουσον [μεγαλην νοσεον
τος μηδε τας φ[ρενας υγιαινειν
·δε·
ταδε ες τους α[λλους Περσας εξ
εμαινη λεγετ[αι γαρ ειπειν αυ
[τ]ον προς Π[ρηξασπεα τον ετιμα
τε μαλ[ιστα και οι τας αγγελιας
εφορεε ο[υτος τουτου τε ο παις
οινοχοο[ς ην τωι Καμβυσηι τι
μη δε και α[υτη ου σμικρη ειπειν
δε λεγεται τα[δε Πρηξασπες
κ[ο]ιον [με τινα νομιζουσι Περ
16 lines lost

Col. x (Fr. 12. ii).
19 lines lost
Κ[αμβυσης τον Κροισον ου πολ
λωι μ[ετεπειτα χρονωι και οι θε
ραπο[ντες μαθοντες τουτο επηγ
γελλ[οντο αυτωι ως περιειη
Καμβ[υσης δε Κροισωι μεν συνη

Col. viii (Fr. 10. ii). Plate v

ναι προς τον [πατερ]α τελεσαι Κυ
ρον οι δε αμ[ειβοντο] ως ειη α
μεινων του [πατρο]ς τα τε γαρ ε
κεινου παντ[α εχει]ν αυτον και
προσεκτησθαι Αι[γυ]π[τ]ον τε και
την θαλασσαν Πε[ρσ]αι μεν ταυ
τα ελεγον Κροισος δε παρεων
τε και ουκ αρεσκομενος τηι κρι
σει ειπε προς τον Καμβυσην τα
δε εμοι μεν ν[υ]ν ω παι Κυρου.
ου δοκεεις ομοιος ειναι τωι πα
τρι ο]υ γαρ κω τοι [εσ]τι ϋιος οιον
[σε εκει]νος κατε[λ]ιπετο ἠσθη
[τε ταυτα ακουσ]α[ς ο] Καμβυσης
26 lines lost

Col. ix (Frs. 10. iii, 12. i). Plate v.

οντ[α Πρηξασπεα δε ορωντα
αν[δρα ου φρενηρεα και περι ε
ωυ[τωι δειμαινοντα ειπειν δε
σπ[ορα ουδ αν αυτον εγωγε δο
κε[ω τον θεον ουτω αν καλως
βα[λλειν τοτε μεν ταυτα εξερ
γασ[ατο ετερωθι δε Περσεων
ομ[οιους τοισι πρωτοισι δυωδε
κα [επ ουδεμιηι αιτιηι αξιο
χρ[ε]ω[ι ελων ζωοντας επι κεφα
7 lines lost
[συ δε κτεινεις μεν ανδ]ρ[ας σε
[ωυτου πολιητας επ] ουδεμ[ιηι
[αιτιηι αξιοχρεωι ελ]ων κτει
[νεις δε παιδας ην δε] πολλα τοι
[αυτα ποιηις ορα οκως μ]η σευ

About 15 lines lost

Col. xii (Fr. 13).

286 βοηθεοντ]α[ς 39
] κρατη[σας
ταφρο]ν π̣ερ̣ι

Col. xviii (Fr. 14).

About 28 lines lost

317 κ̣ε̣ν̣ [της αιτιης νυν δε αιει επει 49
τε εκτισ[αν την νησον εισι αλλη
λοισι διαφ[οροι . . . . . του
320 των ειν[εκεν απεμνησικακε
ον τοισι Σ̣[αμιοισι οι Κορινθιοι ε
πεμπε δε [ες Σαρδις επ εκτομη
Περιανδρ̣[ος των πρωτων Κερ
κυραιων [επιλεξας τους παιδας
325 τιμωρει[μενος προτεροι γαρ οι
Κερκυρα[ιοι ηρξαν ες αυτον πρη
χ·
γμα α[τασθαλον ποιησαντες ε

230 [αποστησονται Περσαι ε]μοι δε
[πατηρ σος Κυρος ενετελλ]ε̣τ̣[ο]
About 15 lines lost

Col. xx (Fr. 15).

328 η̣[ισι συμ]π̣[επτω]κοτα [οικτειρε 52
υ̣π̣[ει]ς̣ δε της̣ [ορ]γ̣η̣ς̣ ηϊε [ασσον
330 και ελεγε ω παι κοτερα τ[ουτων
>—
αιρετωτερα εστι ταυτα τ̣[α νυν
[εχ]ων πρησσεις· η τη[ν τυραννι
[δα κ]αι αγαθα τα νυν εγ[ω εχω ταυ
[τα ε]ντα τωι πατρι επ̣ι̣[τηδεον
335 [παρ]αλαμβανειν ος εω[ν εμος
[τε π]αις και Κορινθου τη[ς ευδαι
[μονος βα]σιλευς α̣λητη[ν βιον ει
[λευ αντι]στατεων τε κ[αι οργηι
[χρεωμεν]ο̣ς̣ ες τον [σ]ε ηκ[ιστα εχρην
340 [ει γαρ τι]ς συμφορη̣ [εν αυτοι
[σι γεγονε] ε[ξ ης υποψιην ες

Col. xxii (Fr. 16–17).

342 [σειν] κ̣α̣ι [τον οικον του πατρος δι 53
[αφορ]η̣θεντα μ̣α̣[λλον η αυτος
[σφε α]πελθων ε[χειν απιθι ες τα
345 [οικι]α παυσαι [σεωυτον ζημι
[ων φι]λοτιμιη [κτημα σκαιον
[μη τωι] κακωι τ[ο κακον ιω πο
[λλοι] των δι[καιων τα επιει

[κεστε]ρα [προτιθεισι πολλοι δε
350 η̣δη τα μη[τρωια διζημενοι
τα πατρωι[α απεβαλον τυραν
[ν]ι̣ς χρημα [σφαλερον πολλοι δε
[α]υτης ε[ρασται εισι ο δε γερων τε η?
[δ]η και π̣[αρηȝηκως μη δωις τα

Col. xxiii (Frs. 18. i, 19. i).

355 [επι της ραχιος ε]π̣ι του α 54
κ̣ρωτηρ̣ιου
5 lines lost
361 [σπομενοι εκτει]νον ει με[ν 55

Col. xxiv (Frs. 18. ii, 19. ii).

ν̣[αι σφι τους δε δεξαμενους 56
370 ουτ̣ω δη απ̣[αλλασσεσθαι ταυ
την πρωτην [στρατιην ες την

[νυν οι παρεοντες] Λακεδαιμ[ο]
[νιων ομοιοι εγινο]ντο ταυτ[ην]
[την ημερην Αρχι]ητι τε και Λυκω
[πηι αιρεθη αν Σαμ]ος Αρχι[ι]ης
[γαρ και Λυκωπης μ]ουνο[ι συ]ν
[εσπεσοντες φευγου]σι ε[ς το
[τειχος τοισι Σαμιοισ]ι [και απο
Ασιην Λακεδαιμ[ονιοισι Δωριε
ες εποιησαντο [οι δ επι τον Πο
λυκ[ρ(ατ)εα σ]τρατε[υσαμενοι Σαμι
4 lines lost
... δ[εοντο τα δε των Σιφνιων πρη
[γ]ματα ηκμαζε τουτον τον χρο
ν[ον και νησιωτεων μαλιστα ε
π[λουτεον ατε εοντων αυτοισι

Col. xxvi (Frs. 20–1).

[σαν ες το ιρο]ν της Αθηναιης τη[ς
εν Αιγινηι ταυτα δ]ε εποιησα[ν
εγκοτον εχον]τες Σαμιοισι Αιγι[
νηται προτ]εροι γαρ Σαμι[οι επ Α
μφικρατεος] βασιλευοντ[ος εν
About 18 lines lost

[πηγης αρχιτεκτων δε τ]ου ορυ[
[γματος τουτου εγενετο] Μεγα
[ρευς Ευπαλινος Ναυστρο]φου
[τουτο μεν δη εν των τριω]ν ε
[στι δευτερον δε περι λι]μενα. π′ λιμ...
[χωμα εν θαλασσηι βαθος] κατα ωσει π... λ[.]...
About 10 lines lost

Col. xxix (Fr. 22).

στρα[τευεσθαι επι τον μαγον και
οι αν[αθρωισκοντι επι τον ιππον
του [κολεου του ξιφεος ο μυκης
απο[πιπτει γυμνωθεν δε το
ξ[ι]φ[ος παιει τον μηρον τρωμα

Col. xxxiii (Fr. 23).

τη]ν αυτ[ην
το]τε ο μαγ[ος
συν]οικεε και [

Col. xxxv (Fr. 24).

παραγιν]εται[ι
Υστ]ασπεος [
τουτ]ων γαρ δη η[ν
υπαρχ]ος επει ων [
ἐ]ξ των Πε[ρσεων
Δαρ...ιον προσεταιρισασθαι
συνελ]θοντες [
ε]διδοσαν
ε]πε ιτε

Col. xxxvii (Fr. 25).

πωι περησο]με[ν] αμει[βεται Δαρει
ος τοισδε] Οτανη πο[λλα εστι
τα λογωι μ]εν ουκ οια τε [δηλωσαι
εργωι δε αλ]λα δε εστι τα [λογωι μεν
οια τε ερ]γον δ ουδε[ν λαμπρον
απ αυτων ? υ]μεις δε ϊστε φυ[λακας
τας κατεστ]ωσας εουσας ο[υδεν
μ[ει
χαλεπας πα]ρελθειν τουτο [γαρ η

μεων εοντω]ν τοιωνδε ουδ̣[εις οσ
τις ου πα]ρησει τα μεν κο[υ καται
δεομενος] ημεας τα δε κ[ου και
450 δειμαινω]ν τουτο δε εχ[ω αυτος
σκηψιν ευπ ρ̣επ̣ε̣σ̣τ̣ατην τηι

7. παντ[ες: om. R.

15. The size of the lacuna favours απομαστιγωσαι (ABC) rather than απομαστιγνωσειν (RSV).

17. ορ]τη: ⟨ἡ⟩ ὁρτὴ Schaefer, Hude. There is certainly not room for η in the lacuna.

19. εδικαι]ενιτο: a 'hyper-Ionic' form due to false analogy; cf. Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, § 690. εδικ]ενντο (so RSV) is unlikely.

21. ι]ρωι: so RSV, edd. There is room for ιε]ρωι, but cf. l. 139 ἱρην.

28. **1619** probably agreed with the MSS. in having των κακων, which is bracketed by Stein and Hude; but ll. 29–33 are on a separate fragment of which the exact position is not certain.

31. [ες Περσας: om. S. The size of the lacuna makes it certain that **1619** agreed with the other MSS.

49. Cf. l. 69, n.

54–5. πρ[οσαγαγον]τα (R, edd.) is slightly preferable on grounds of space to πρ[οσαγαγον]τα, the ordinary reading.

58–9. επι[σπομε]νην: so R, Hude; ἐπισπωμένην SV. ε[σπομε]νην (ABP, Stein) is too short.

69. The two strokes after κα]λεομενους presumably refer to the marginal note (l. 49), where they may have been repeated at the beginning of the line; cf. **1620.** ii. καλεομένους, which is omitted by ABP and apparently erased in C, is omitted by Stein and bracketed by Hude; but if the corrector wished to omit it, βασ]ιληιους δικαστα[ς, not βασ]ιληιοι δικαστα[ι, would be expected in the note. Probably one or more words are lost before βασ]ιληιοι and the note is explanatory, like that in the margin of l. 355, which is in the same hand. That the note refers to l. 72, where βασιληιοι δικασται occurs in the text (**1619** is defective at this point), is unlikely in view of the critical mark against l. 69.

103–4. νι]κωμεν[ου: νικομένου BR.

105. αυτ[ου αλλον σκυλακα: so ABC, edd.; ἄλλον αἰτοῦ σκ. PRSV; om. ἄλλον σκ. Naber; cf. the next n.

108. After δη the MSS. have τοὺς σκύλακας, but **1619** is probably right in its omission; cf. int. and l. 105, n.

131. The cursive marginal note εκτρωσιασ(αν) is possibly by the writer of the scholium on l. 410, but is certainly not due to the writer of notes on ll. 69 and 355, and seems not to be by the first hand. The size of the lacuna suits the hypothesis that the first hand had omitted ασ.

132–3. οικ[ε]ε[οτατους: οικ[η]ε[ους (ABCP, edd.) is too short.

135. [εωθε]: so RSV (ἔωθεν). edd.; [εωθεε] (ABC) is too long.

136. καταλαμβα[νειν]: before this edd. insert κακὰ with RSV.

137. και: om. ABC, edd.

143. ABC agree with the original reading τὰ δὲ ἐς, while RSV rightly have τάδε δ' (or δὲ?) ἐς, agreeing with the superscribed reading.

147. εφορεε: so MSS., Stein; ἐ⟨σε⟩φόρεε Naber, Hude. εσ]εφορεε is unsatisfactory, for the supplement in l. 146 is already long enough.

149. και: om. P.

150. δε: Krüger's conjecture δὴ is not supported.

168. τελεσαι: so ABRSV; om. E; καλέσαι (= -εῦσαι?) C; εἰκάσαι? Stein. Hude brackets this inappropriate word.

172. προσεκτησθαι: προσκτήσασθαι RSV.

175. τηι κρισει: τῇ γινομένῃ κρίσει RSV.

176. Καμβυσην: Καμβύσεα MSS. here as elsewhere in Hdt., though in the other cases the word belongs to the first declension, and the Attic accusative is of course Καμβύσην. With regard to Ξέρξης, Ὀτάνης, and some other proper names in -ης both forms of the accusative are found in MSS. of Hdt.; cf. Smyth, *op. cit.* § 438.

176–7. ταδε: om. RSV.

181. ακουσ]α[ς: om. ABCE.

231. Whether ενετελλ]·τ[ο] (ABCE) or ενετειλα]το (RSV) is to be read is not certain. There is no reason for supposing that in **1619** ὁ was inserted before σός, as suggested by Bekker.

267. μ[ετεπειτα χρονωι: μετέπ. χρ. ὕστερον MSS., which is too long. The vestige of a letter following λωι suits μ very well, but χ[ρονωι followed by μετεπειτα or υστερον could be read. ὕστερον is superfluous; cf. vii. 7 χρόνῳ μετέπειτα.

268–9. επην|γελλ[ονto αυτωι: ἐπήγγελον τὸ αὐτὸ (V), ἐπήγγελον αὐτῷ (S), ἐπήγγελλον αὐτῷ (Schweighauser) are all unsuitable.

286–8. The position assigned to this fragment is far from certain, περ[ι in l. 288 being doubtful. ν or [ο]ι can be substituted for π, and η, ι, ν, or π for ρ.

319. διαφ[οροι . . . . . : the MSS. are corrupt, having διάφοροι ἐόντες ἑωυτοῖσι (ἑωυτοὶ RSV). Krüger suggested ἐρίζοντες for ἐόντες, Reiske supplied οἰκήιοι before ἐόντες, Valckenaer συγγενεῖς after ἑωυτοῖσι. **1619** was clearly shorter, and the sentence may have ended with διαφ[οροι, for in l. 320 ὧν, which occurs in the MSS. after τούτων, is omitted, and the new sentence may have begun . . . . . ων του|των ειν[εκεν. A connecting particle is, however, not necessary with τούτων (cf. e.g. l. 13), and the absence of a paragraphus below l. 319 suggests that ll. 317–21 may have formed one sentence in the papyrus, though the scribe is not very regular in the use of paragraphi.

320. For the omission of ων after του|των, which may be merely a slip, cf. the previous note. RV have ἕνεκεν for εἰν[εκεν.

321–2. ε]|πεμπε: there is not room for απε]|πεμπε (ABC, edd.), unless οι before Κορινθιοι was omitted.

325. τιμωρει[μενος: τιμωρεόμενος RSV. Cf. Smyth, *op. cit.* § 684. 2. The restoration προτεροι (πρότερον RSV) is supported by the parallel in l. 380; cf. n.

326–7. For the alternative form πρῆχμα, which is ignored by the MSS. of Hdt., see int.

328. [οικτειρε: so MSS.; [οικτιρε, the form preferred by edd., would be long enough.

333. αγαθα τα: so MSS.; ⟨τὰ⟩ ἀγαθὰ τὰ edd. since Aldus.

339. ες: εἰς AB less correctly. At the end of the line, where the supplement is rather long, producing a line of 27 letters, the division was perhaps ε|χρην, but only 8 or 9 letters are expected in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 340.

344. σφε, the reading of the MSS. corrected by edd. to σφεα, is rendered certain by the size of the initial lacuna. απιθι suits the space better than απελθε (RSV).

346. φι]λοτιμιη: for η φι]λοτιμιη (RSV, edd.) there is not room, if, as is probable, there was a space after ων.

351. Either απεβαλον or μετεβαλον (ABC) can be restored.

353. The supplement, based on AB, is rather long, producing a line of 27 letters, and perhaps either η- should be omitted with R (SV om. ηδη), or τε, or even both.

355. The marginal note is in the same hand as that in l. 49.

361–2. RSV have ἐκτείνοντες instead of ἔκτεινον . . . παρεόντες.

363. εγινο]·το: or εγενο]το (ABS, Stein).

365. *αιρεθη αν Σαμ]ος*: *αἱρέθησαν Σαμίοις* RSV.

370. *δη*: om. RSV.

372. *Λακεδαιμ[ονιοισι* (PRS; *-ησι* V) suits the size of the lacuna better than *Λακεδαιμ[ονιοι* (AB, edd.).

373–4. *Πο]λυκ[ρ⟨ατ⟩εα σ]τρατ.*: the lacuna ought not to exceed 4 letters, but the omission may have been supplied above the line, as in l. 446.

378–9. *ε]δ[εοντο*: the supposed vestige of *δ* may belong to a paragraphus. In the margin are traces of a note, which might refer to ll. 361–2, but is nearer to col. xxiv.

379–80. For the alternative spellings *πρη]γ[ματα, πρη]χ[ματα* cf. l. 327 and int.

383. *τη[ς*: om. MSS. But cf. e.g. v. 82 *τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τε* (*τε* om. SVU) *τῇ Πολιάδι*, vii. 43 *τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι*.

386. *προτ]εροι*: *πρότερον* RSV.

406. *τ]ου ορυ[γματος τουτου*: *τούτου τοῦ ὀρ.* RSV.

410. The supposed stop after *λι]μενα*, which is not wanted, might be the bottom of a critical sign referring to the marginal note, which begins *π(ερι) λιμε(να)* and seems to be of an explanatory character. In the second line *ωσει π[* or *π[* (i.e. *παρά*) or *ως ει[αι* can be read; the third line does not seem to be *λ[ι]με[ν* . . . The ink is lighter than that of the main text and the marginal note on l. 131, and the hand certainly different from that of ll. 49 and 355 marg.

411. *κατα*: so MSS., which continue *εἴκοσι ὀργυιέων*. Stein and Hude follow Eltz in reading *καί* for *κατά*, which is not satisfactory. As Lobel remarks, *κατά* would be expected here to mean 'about', especially since most of the dyke was under water; cf. the frequent examples of *κατά* with numerals quoted by Schweighauser, *Lex. Herod.* ii. 10. Hence the mistake may well lie in *ὀργυιέων*, for which we suggest *ὀργυίας*, unless there was a substantive *εἰκοσιόργυιον*, meaning a 'length of 20 fathoms'.

423. *οι*: om. C.

427–8. **1619** no doubt had *δη ταυτην ειχε* (om. RSV) between *αυτ[ην* and *το]τε*.

430. *παραγιν]ετα[ι*: or possibly *ε]ς τα [Σουσα*.

434. Of the supposed breathing over *ε]ξ* only the tip of a horizontal stroke is left, which might be interpreted as belonging to a paragraphus. Lines 433–4 would then begin *[χ]ος* and *[σι ε]ξ*, but this arrangement does not suit ll. 432 and 435–6 very well, and *ἕξ* is a very natural word on which to place a breathing; cf. l. 180.

438. *ε]π[ιτε* or *επει]τε[* can be read.

440. *Οτανη*: *Ὅτ. ἡ* AB, edd.; *Ὅτ. ἢ* C.

443–4. *ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαμπρὸν γίνεται* MSS. **1619** was shorter and presumably omitted *γίνεται* or *ἀπ' αὐτῶν* rather than *λαμπρόν*.

445. *κατεστ]εωσας*: *κατεσ]τωσας* (RSV) can equally well be read, but is somewhat less suitable to the supposed length of the initial lacuna.

446. *μ[εν*, inserted above the line by the first hand, is read by all the MSS.

447. *τοιωνδε*: so Hude with RSV; *τοίων* ABCP, Stein.

1620. THUCYDIDES i.

14 × 14·3 cm. Late second or early third century.
Plate VI.

This fragment consists of the upper portion of two columns and a few letters from the beginnings of lines of a third column of a roll containing the first book of Thucydides, and covers chs. 11–14 with considerable lacunae.

The script is a medium-sized uncial of a second–third century type, resembling **843** (Part v, Plate vi) and **1175** (Part ix, Plate iii). That it is more likely to have been written before A. D. 200 than after is indicated by the notes referring to alternative readings, which have been added later in the upper margin by a different and cursive hand. These notes are very like those in **1234** (Part x, Plate iv), of which the main text is not dissimilar in style to that of **1620**, though in a larger hand, and suggest a date not later than the reign of Caracalla. The main text may therefore well be ascribed to the reign of Commodus or even M. Aurelius. The columns are rather tall, containing about 54 lines of 18–22 letters. High stops accompanied by paragraphi (which are to be restored after ll. 3, 10, 14, and 21) are frequent, and there are occasional diaereses, but no breathings or accents. Iota adscript was written in l. 13, but apparently not in l. 62. An omission in l. 3 is supplied by the original scribe, who also superscribed a variant in l. 67; but a slip in l. 8 is corrected by the writer of the marginal notes, which seem to be variants obtained from a different and older MS., not corrections; cf. ll. 67–8, n. Critical signs are placed against the notes and the corresponding line of the text, four different signs being found in Col. ii.

The relation of the papyri of Thucydides to the vellum MSS., which are divided into two families, CG and BAEF, M approximating to a middle position, is discussed at length in **1376**. int.; cf. also Hude, *Bull. de l'acad. royale de Danemark*, 1915, 579–85. Of the five best papyri the first century specimens tend to support C, those of the second century B, especially in the later books. In the chapters covered by **1620** both C and F are defective, the lost portions having been supplied by later hands, in both cases from MSS. of the C family (c and f), so that F and f represent different families. **1620**, a careful and elaborately revised text, agrees with B against cfG four times, and with the C family against B twice. **1621**, however, which is about a century later than **1620**, inverts the relationship to the two families, agreeing five times with C, twice with the B group. **1622**, which is about fifty years earlier than **1620** and agrees twice with either group, and **1623**, which is three or four centuries later and agrees twice with the B group, once with CG, are both too short to show their real character. But the customary electicism of papyri in relation to the mediaeval MSS. is apparent throughout the four Thucydides fragments in the present volume, and the division of the MSS. into two families is no doubt later than the papyrus period; cf. the parallel case of the MSS. of Herodotus discussed in **1619**. int.

New readings in **1620** occur in ll. 1, 73–4, 76, and side by side with the traditional readings in ll. 61, 67–8, 72 (cf. also Col. i. marg., ll. 58, 109, 112, nn.).

Some of these are concerned with trivial differences, such as the omission of the article or the order of words; but in l. 67 the traditional participle is no better than the hitherto unrecorded infinitive, and, especially since the marginal readings tend to be superior to those of the main text, the new reading proposed in the marginal note on ll. 67–8 may well be right. A tendency to smooth slight irregularities and roughnesses of style is traceable throughout **1620–3**, especially in **1621**, which confirms two modern emendations; and, although some of the novelties can be explained as editorial improvements, and omissions may be merely due to accident, the four new fragments seem to represent texts of rather high quality, and distinctly support the impression gained by a survey of the longer Thucydidean papyri such as **16** and **1376**, that without resorting to the drastic changes proposed by Rutherford there are many improvements to be made upon the tradition of the mediaeval MSS.

Col. i.

ϗελει και αλ(λα)

[α]πο[ν]ωτερον *Τροιαν ει* 11. 2
[λ]ον [αλ]λα *δι αχρηματιαν* 3
τε
[τ]α προ τουτων ασθενη ην·
[κ]αι αυ[τ]α γε δη ταυτ[α ο]νομα
[στ]οτατα των πριν γ[ε]νο
μ̣ενα· δηλουται τοι̣ς ε̣ργοις
[υπο]δ̣εεστερα οντα τ̣[η]ς φη
ου
[μη]ς και τ[[ων]] νυν περι
[αυτ]ων δια τους ποιητας
[λογ]ο̣υ κατ[εσ]χηκοτος[·] επει 12. 1
[και μετα τα Τρ]ωϊκα [[ηδη]]
[η Ελλας ετι] μ̣ε̣τ̣ανιστατο
[τε κ]αι κατωικιζετο ωστε
[μη ησυχασ⟨ασ⟩]α̣ν̣ αυξηθηναι[·]
[η τε γαρ] αναχωρησις τ̣ω̣ν 2
Ε̣λλην̣ων εξ Ἰλιου χρονι
[α γενομ]ενη πολλα ενεω

Col. ii.

[χ]
[ↄ τα πε]ρι ταȩ [ναυs
⌣ [τε]σσαρας και ταυτα ε[τη] εστι
μαλιστα και α̣λ̣(λα)
παλαιτατη
βασιλειαι· ναυτικα τε εξη[ρ] 13. 1
τυετο η Ελλας και της θα
λασσης μαλλον αντειχον
το· πρωτοι δε Κορινθιο̣[ι]
λεγονται εγγυτατα τ̣ο̣υ̣
νυν τροπου μεταχειρι
ↄ *σαι τα περι ναυς και τριη*
ρεις πρωτο̣ν̣ εν Κορι̣ν̣θ̣ω
της Ελλαδος ναυπηγη[
θηναι[·] φαινεται δ[ε και 3
Σ̄αμιο[ι]ȩ Α̣μ̣ει̣νοκλης Κο
ρινθ̣[ιο]ȩ ναυπηγο[ȩ ναυs
s.
⌣ *ποιησαι τετ̣τ̣[α]ρα̣ȩ· ε[τη*
δ εστι μαλιστ[α] τ̣ρια[κοσια
[ε]ȩ τ̣η̣ν τ̣ε̣λ̣ευτην τ̣[ο̣ῦ̣δ̣ε
του πολεμου οτε Α̣μ̣ε̣[ι
νοκλης Σαμι[οις] ηλθε· ν̣[αυ 4

[χμωσε] ϗ και στασεις εν ταις 12. 2 ⌒ μ[αχ]ια τε παλα[ι]ο̣τατη 13. 4
[πολεσιν] ως επι το πολ̣[υ ε]γ̣[ι ω̣[ν] η̣[δ]η ι̣σ̣[μ]ε̣ν̣ η̣ Κορ̣ιν
[γνοντο α]φ ων εκπειπτον θιω[ν γ]ι̣ν̣[ε]τ̣[αι] πρ̣ος Κ[ερ
[τες τας] πολεις εκτιζον· κυρ̣α̣[ιο]υ[ς] ετη δ̣ε̣ μ̣α̣[λι
[Βοιωτοι] τε γαρ οι νυν εξη[3 στα δ̣[ιακο]σι̣[α ε]ξη[κ]ον[
32 lines lost τα ε[στι μ]ε̣χ̣[ρι του αυτου
31 lines lost

Col. iii.

× [ους εποιησατο και Ρηνει 13. 6 [τωτατα γαρ ταυτα των ναυ
α̣[ν ελων ανεθηκε τωι Απο τικ[ων ην φαινεται δε 14. 1
[λ]λ[ωνι τωι Δηλιωι Φωκαεις κ̣α̣ι̣ τ̣[αυτα πολλαις γενε
ↄ τ̣ε̣ [Μασσαλιαν οικιζον α̣[ις υστερα γενομενα των
τε̣[ς Καρχηδονιους ενι Τ[ρωικων τριηρεσι μεν
κ̣ω̣[ν ναυμαχουντες δυνα 3 lines lost, traces of 8 lines, and 32 lines lost

Col. i. marg. και αλ(λα) 'and so on' recurs in the third marginal note at the top of Col. ii. The preceding word apparently does not occur anywhere in the known text of ll. 1–54, and an unknown variant seems to be indicated; cf. ll. 67–8, n.]ε αει or]κασι or]κλει can be substituted for]ελει.

1. Τροιαν : τὴν Τροίαν MSS. Cf. ll. 58, 61, 73–4, nn.

3. τε, supplied by the first hand, is in all the MSS.

π[ρο] τουτων : so A^2cF^2GM, edd.; π[ρος] τ. (A^1BEF^1) is unsuitable to the size of the lacuna.

4. γε : om. cfG.

8. των, the reading of the first hand, is a mere error.

11. ηδη, which has a line above it to indicate deletion, is not known as a variant here.

14. [μη ησυχασ⟨ασ⟩]αν : the traces of α are very slight, but ν is fairly certain, and there is not room for more than 7 or 8 letters in the lacuna. μὴ ἡσυχάσασα cf^1, Hude; μὴ ἡσυχάσασαν ABEMf^2, Stuart Jones.

17–18. ενεα[χμωσε] : so AEM; ἐιεόχμωσε Bcf, edd.

19. επι το πολ[υ : so cEf, Hude; om. τὸ ABM, Stuart Jones.

21. τας] πολεις : so MSS., Stuart Jones; νέας (Madvig, Hude) does not suit the size of the lacuna.

22. Gertz wished to omit γαρ.

Col. ii. marg. Cf. ll. 58, 61, 67–8, 72, nn., and for και αλ(λα) Col. i. marg. n.

58. Which word or words in this line were referred to in the lost marginal note at the top of Col. ii is uncertain. The only clue afforded by the MSS. is the circumstance that in E the ι of πρῶτοι is by a later hand, perhaps indicating πρῶτον as the original reading; cf. πρωτον in l. 62. If not πρωτον, the lost variant may have been οι Κορινθιοι; cf. ll. 1, 61, 73–4, nn.

61. *ναυς*: *τὰς ναῦς* MSS., agreeing with the reading in the second marginal note. *τριήρεις* immediately following has no article, and *τάς* can be dispensed with; but the omission may be due to the accidental collocation of *ναῦς* and *τριήρεις* which belong to different sentences. Cf. ll. 1, 58, 73–4, nn.

62. *πρωτον εν Κορινθω*: so BcEf, Hude; *ἐν Κ. πρ.* AGM, Stuart Jones. Cf. ll. 73–4, 76–7, nn.

63. *ναυπηγηθηναι*: so ABEGM, Stuart Jones; *ἐνναυπ.* cfG suprascr, Hude.

67. *ποιησαι*: *ποιήσας* MSS., agreeing with the superscribed reading. The infinitive makes the statement less definite and is quite appropriate.

τεττ[α]ρας, with the marginal variant *[τε]σσαρας*: cf. the superscribed *σσ* in the case of **16**. i. 4 *εφυλαττον* and 38 *ηττηθειεν*.

67–8. *ε[τη] δ εστι μαλιστα*: so all MSS.; the marginal variant *και ταυτα ε[τη] εστι μαλ.* is unknown here, but at l. 76, where **1620** like ABEGM has *ετη δε μα[λι]στα*, cfG add. have *ἔτη δὲ μάλ. καὶ ταύτῃ* and Bekker's N *ἔτη δὲ μάλ. καὶ ταῦτα*. The most probable explanation of this duplicate set of variations is that the original reading was that of **1620**. marg., but *και ταυτα* was omitted, *δ* being inserted in its place (so **1620**. 67, ABEGM); *και ταυτα* was, however, supplied in the margin, from which the words were restored to the text in the wrong place (as in N), resulting in the subsequent emendation of *ταῦτα* to *ταύτῃ* (cfG add.). If the reading of the later MSS. (G is 13th cent.; cf are later than CF), which editors have hitherto adopted, be supposed to be original, it is almost inexplicable that neither the scribe nor the corrector of **1620** knew of the reading *καὶ ταύτῃ* in l. 76, and that the corrector should make matters worse instead of better. The source of the marginal variants in **1620** is probably older than the main text, and may well have been a Ptolemaic papyrus or at any rate as old as the archetype of **1620**. In view of the great antiquity of the reading *καὶ ταῦτα* and the very late character of the evidence for *καὶ ταύτῃ* we much prefer to explain the variations in the light of their chronological arrangement, and to regard the readings of (*a*) **1620**. 67 and the older MSS. and (*b*) N as intermediate steps in the process by which the reading preserved in **1620**. marg. became corrupted into that of cfG add.

71. *ηλθε*: so MSS.; *ἦλθεν* edd. The earlier papyri of Thucydides as a rule omit *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* at the end of a sentence; cf. e. g. **1622**. 81, 84.

72. *παλα[ι]οτατη*: so some of the deteriores; the earlier MSS. have *παλαιτάτη* here, as has the marginal note, but in e. g. ch. 1. 1 *παλαιότερα* occurs.

73–4. *ω[ν] η[δ]η ισ[μ]εν η Κορινθιω[ν γ]ιν[ε]ται[ι]*: *ὧν ἴσμεν γίγνεται Κορ.* MSS. (G at first inserted *γίγνεται* before *ὧν ἴσμεν*, but erased it). *ισ* is fairly certain, and the preceding letter can be *η*, *μ*, or *ν*, while the letter after *ισ[μ]εν*, if not *η*, must be *ν*: the traces of *εν* and of a letter after *ω[ν]* are very slight and indecisive. *[ι]τμ[ε]ν Κορ.* might be read, but before it *ων [η]μεις* is not long enough and *ων [η]μεις* is inadmissible. *η[δ]η* is not very satisfactory, but preferable to *ω[ν] σ[υ]νισ[μ]εν*. The insertion of the article before *Κορινθιω[ν* may be right (cf. ll. 1, 58, 61, nn.); the loss of it may be due to the hiatus created when *γίγνεται* was placed before instead of after *ἡ Κορινθίων*. That **1620** had the form *γ]ιν[ε]ται[ι]* (with cf) is uncertain, for *γ]ιγν[ε]ται[ι]* can be read.

75–6. *μα[λι]στα*: *μάλ. καὶ ταύτῃ* cfG add., edd.; cf. ll. 67–8, n.

76–7. *δ[ιακο]σι[α ε]ξη[κ]οντα*: *ἑξήκ. καὶ διακ.* MSS. The traces suit *δ[ιακο]σι[α* very well, but in l. 77 *μ]ελ[ρι* is quite uncertain.

109. To what the critical sign refers is uncertain. The only variants in the MSS. at this point concern the spelling *Ῥήνειαν* or *Ῥηνίαν* (in other authors spelled *Ῥήναιαν* or *Ῥηναίαν*), except for the dittography *Ῥήνειαν ἀνελών* in cf.

112. The critical sign perhaps refers to a variant concerning the spelling of *Μασσαλίαν* (*Μεσσαλίαν*, *Μασαλίαν*, *Μασσιλίαν*, or *Μασσαλίαν* MSS.).

1621. THUCYDIDES ii (*Speeches*).

14·3 × 11·4 cm. Fourth century. Plate V (verso).

This leaf of a vellum codex is of a somewhat novel character, since it belongs to a collection of the speeches in Thucydides. The fragment contains the conclusion of the speech of Archidamus at the beginning of the war (ii. 11) and the beginning of the funeral oration of Pericles (ii. 35). There are 21 lines on a page and 20–5 letters in a line. Traces of the pagination are visible on both sides, but the figures are illegible. The hand is a calligraphic uncial of the same type as the Codex Sinaiticus, and the fragment has a special palaeographical interest, for some omissions by the first hand (ll. 18 and 26) have been supplied in darker brown ink by a cursive hand. These cursive additions are not later than the fourth century, and the main text is likely to belong to the early or middle part of that century. Stops occur in the high, middle, and low positions, but are partly due to the corrector. A stroke for punctuation (l. 2) and occasional diaereses and elision-marks are due to the original scribe, a breathing to the corrector. Iota adscript was generally written : where omitted, it has been supplied in at least one place (l. 16) and perhaps two others (ll. 10 and 15), apparently by the corrector.

The text as corrected is on the whole a good one and has several interesting novelties, which are in most cases superior to the readings of the MSS. The omission of the unsatisfactory *οὕτω* in l. 4 confirms a conjecture of Madvig, though confidence in the omissions in **1621** is somewhat shaken not only by the two mistaken omissions of the first hand, which are supplied by the corrector, but by a third (l. 36), which has escaped his notice. *ὑμῖν* for *ἡμῖν* in l. 25 confirms the conjecture of Hude already substantiated by **853**. vii. 15, the confusion between these words being of course common. *ἀμύνασθαι* for *ἀμύνεσθαι* in l. 4 and the omission of *τῶν* before *ἄλλων* in l. 19 may well be right. C is supported against B five times, B against C twice ; cf. **1620**. int.

Recto.

χοτατοι α[ν ε]ιεν. προς τε το ε 11. 5
πιχειρεισ[θ]αι ασφαλεσταται'
[η]μεις δε ουδ επι αδυνατον 6
[α]μυνασθαι πο[λ]ιν ερχομεθα
[αλλ]α τοις πασιν αριστα παρεσκ[ευ
[ασ]μενην· ωστε χρη και πανυ

Verso.

αυτων οραν· ως [ου]ν επι τοσαυ[9
την πολιν στρατευοντες και
μεγιστ[η]ν δοξα[ν] οισομενο[ι
τοις τε προγονοις και υμιν α[υ
εκ των αποβαι[νοντων
τοις επ αμφοτερα επεσθε [ο

[ελ]πιζειν δια μαχης ϊεναι αυτ̣ο[υς
[ει] μη και νυν ωρμηνται εν ω̣[ι ?
ουπω παρεσμεν· αλλ' οταν εν
τη̣ι γηι ορωσιν ημας δηουντα̣[ς
τε και τα εκεινων φθει̣ροντα[ς
πασι γαρ εν τοις ομμασι. και̣ εν τ̣[ω 7
παραυτικα οραν πασχοντα̣ς
τι αηθες οργη προσπιπτε[ι
και οι λογισμω̣ι ελαχιστα̣ [χρ]ω̣
μενοι θυμω̣ι πλειστα ες ε̣[ρ]γ̄ο̄
καθισταντ̣αι· Αθηναιους δε 8
τι
και πλειον των αλλων εικος
τουτο δρασαι· οι αρχειν τε αλλω̄
[α]ξιουσι· και επιοντες την τω̄
πελας δηουν μαλλον η τω̣ν
πη αν τις ηγηται· κοσμ̣[ν
και φυλακην περι παντος π[οι
ουμενοι· και τα παρ̣[αγ]γ̣ελλ̣[ο
μενα οξεως δεχομεν̣[ο]ι· καλ̣
[λ]ιστον γαρ τοδε και ασφαλεστ[α
τον πολλους οντας ε̣ν̣ι̣ κ̣ο̣σ̣μωι
χρωμενους φαινεσθαι·
ε̣π̣ι̣ταφιος
ο[ι μ]εν πολλοι των (εν)θαδε ηδη 35. 1
ει̣ρ̣ηκοτων επαινουσι τον
προσθεντα τωι νομωι τον λο
γον τονδε ως καλον επι τοις [
εκ των πολεμων θαπτομε[
νοις αγορευεσθαι αυτον· εμ[οι
δ' αρκουν αν εδοκει ειναι αν[

4. [α]μνασθαι: *ἀμίνεσθαι οὕτω* MSS., Stuart Jones; *ἀμύνεσθαι* omitting *οὕτω* Hude, following Madvig. For other variations between *ἀμύνεσθαι* and *ἀμίνασθαι* cf. e. g. i. 96. 1.

11. *τα εκεινων*: so C; *τὰ 'κείνων* A; *τἀκείνων* BEFM, edd.

12–13. *και εν . . . οραν* is deleted by Hude, who alters *πάσχοντας* to *πάσχουσι*.

14. τι: τε C.

15. Usener wished to delete οι.

18. τι, supplied by the corrector, is in all the MSS.

19. αλλων: *τῶν ἄλλων* MSS.; but *τῶν ἄλλων* has just occurred in l. 18 and *αλλων* is quite defensible.

21. *των*: *τὴν* MSS., rightly. It is certain that *των* was first written, but the second half of the ω is incompletely preserved, and ω may have been corrected to η.

22. *αυτων*: *αὐτῶν* C, Hude, Stuart Jones; *ἑαυτῶν* ABEFM³. *αὑτῶν* was probably meant by the papyrus and is likely to be right.

22–3. *τοσαν|την*: so CEG marg. B *γρ.* F¹ *γρ.* M⁴f ex corr., edd.; *τὴν ἀλλην* ABFM³; *τοιαύτην* some late MSS.

24. *οισομενοι*: *οἰόμενοι* B.

25. *νμιν*: so **853**; *ἡμῖν* MSS. Cf. int.

35. ο[ι μ]εν: so ABEFM with Tiberius, Syrianus, Dionysius, Castor, and Max. Plan. Hude (but not Stuart Jones) formerly carried his preference for CG to the length of reading *μὲν οὖν*, but now (ed. maior²) brackets *οὖν*.

35–6. *ηδη ειρηκοτων*: so CG (*ἤδη* add. G¹), schol., Syrianus, Max. Plan., edd.; *εἰρηκότων ἤδη* ABEFM; om. *ἤδη* Tiberius, Castor. The MSS. of Dionysius vary between *ἤδη εἰρ.* and *εἰρ. ἤδη*.

39. *πολεμων*: *πόλεων* ABF.

40. Dobree wished to omit *αυτον*.

41. δ': *δὲ* CG, edd. *αρκουν αν*: *ἂν ἀρκοῦν* M.

1622. THUCYDIDES ii.

17·5 × 21·2 cm. Early second century. Plate IV.

The chief interest of this much damaged fragment, which consists of the lower halves of two columns and a bit of the column preceding, and contains parts of chs. 65 and 67 of Thuc. ii, is palaeographical, for on the verso is part of a contract for loan dated in Mecheir of the 11th year of Antoninus Pius (A. D. 148), so that the recto must have been written before 148, probably in the reign of Hadrian, and is an unusually well dated specimen of second-century uncial writing. Other papyri which more or less approximate to it in style and date are **9** (Part i, Plate iii, which was there dated somewhat too late), **841** (Part v, Plate iii), **1233** (Part x, Plate iii), and **1619** (Plate iv). A >-shaped sign is used for filling up short lines, and pauses are indicated by occasional blank places, paragraphi, and stops chiefly in the middle position (the high stop at the end of l. 51 is not certain). A mark of quantity occurs in l. 53, and a correction of spelling, possibly in a different hand, in l. 81. The column contained 29–30 lines of 16–22 letters. Iota adscript was written. **1622** agrees with C twice and with the other family twice; cf. **1620.** int. The only new reading occurs in the very compressed sentence beginning in l. 84, of which the end is not preserved. Here the text of **1622** is apparently corrupt as it stands, but is perhaps nearer the original than the reading of the MSS., which may be only an emendation; cf. n. *ad loc.*

Col. i.

17 lines lost and traces of 7 lines
[σουτον τωι Περικλ]ε̣ι επ̣ε̣ 65. 13
[ριτσευσε τοτε] α̣φ̣ ων αυτο̣ς
[προε]γ[ν]ω [κ]α̣ι̣ [πα]̣νυ α̣ν̣ ρα̣ι̣
[διως] πε[ρ]ι̣γ̣ε̣ν̣ε̣σθαι τ̣[ην]
[πολ]ι̣ν̣ Π[ελ]ο̣π̣ο̣ν̣ν̣ησι̣[
[ων αυτων] τωι πολεμωι

Col. ii.

16 lines lost
[κ]αι το̣[υ] α[υτου θερου]ς̣ τ̣[ελευ 67. 1
τωντος Αριστ[ευ]ς Κορινθιος και Λακεδ[α]ιμο[ν]ιων
πρεσβεις Ανηριστος και Νικολαος και Πρατοδαμος·
και Τεγεατης Τιμαγορας
και Αργειος ιδιω̄ι Πολ[λ]ι̣ς

Col. iii.

16 lines lost
μ̣[ονο]ς̣ π̣[αρα τωι Σιταλκηι 67. 2
πε[ι]θουσι τον Σαδοκον
τ̣ο̣ν̣ γεγενη[μ]ενον Αθ̣[η
να[ιον Σ]ιταλκου υιον· το̣ύ̣ς
ανδρας εγχιρισαι σφισι· [ο
πως μη διαβαντες ως β̣[α

πορευ̣ομενο[ι ες] την Ασι
αν ως βασιλεα [ει π]ω̣ς̣ πει
σειαν αυτον χ[ρ]η̣ματα τε
π̣α̣ρ̣ε̣χ̣ε̣[ι]ν̣ και ξ̣[υ]μ̣π̣ολε
[μ]ειν· αφικνουμ̣[τ]α̣ι [ως] Σ̣ι
τ̣αλκην πρωτον τ̣ο̣ν Τ̣η
ρ̣ω ες Θραικη̣[ν βου]λομ̣ε
Fr. 2.]. ο . [
σιλεα την εκεινου πολιν [
τ̣ο̣ μερος βλαψωσι ο δε›
π̣ε̣ισ[θ]ε̣ις̣ πορευομενου[ς
αυτους δια της Θραικης ε
πι τ̣ο̣ πλοιον εμελλε›
τον Ελ̣λ̣ησποντον π̣ε̣
[ρ]α̣ιω[σειν] πριν ε̣[σ]βαινειν

28–9. τ[ην | πολ]ιν: so CG, Aristides, edd.; τῶν ABEFM.

51. Πρατοδαμος: so M, edd.; Πρατόδημος CEFG; Στρατόδημος AB.

57. παρεχε[ι]ν (AB corr. EFM) suits the vestiges much better than παρασχε[ι]ν (CGB¹?, edd.).

79. τον: om. CG.

80. υιον: υἱῶν A; υἱόν Hude.

81. σφισι: for the omission of ν ἐφελκυστικόν cf. l. 84 and **1620**. 71, n.

84 sqq. For εμελλε in l. 87 the MSS. have ᾧ ἔμελλον, making περαιώσειν intransitive contrary to the customary usage of the passive in this sense, as was noticed by Thomas Magister (early fourteenth century). ἔμελλε may be merely a blunder due to some one who wished to make περαιώσειν transitive and ignored ξυλλαμβάνει, which follows ἐσβαίνειν (l. 89) in the MSS. and governs πορευομένους αὐτούς. The loss of the end of the sentence in **1622** is unfortunate, for the construction was not quite clear. After ξυλλαμβάνει the MSS. continue ἄλλους δὲ (so CG; δὴ Hude; om. ABEFM, Stuart Jones) ξυμπέμψας μετὰ τοῦ Λεάρχου τοῦ Ἀμεινιάδου καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνοις παραδοῦναι. ἔμελλε cannot be defended as long as the subject of it is Sitalces, who, as the context shows, had no intention of allowing the Spartan envoys to cross the Hellespont; but with the correction ⟨ὁ⟩ ἔμελλε (sc. the ship) the difficulty arising from the intransitive use of περαιώσειν would be removed, since a second accusative for that verb could easily be understood from πορευομένους αὐτούς: cf. Polyb. iii. 113. 6 τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐξαγαγὼν . . . καὶ περαιώσας κατὰ διττοὺς τόπους τὸ ῥεῖθρον. ᾧ ἔμελλον would on this theory represent an attempt to emend the text as found in **1622**.

Fr. 2. This fragment was adhering to the top left-hand corner of the papyrus, but apparently by accident. If it really belongs to ll. 19–21, it may refer to προσγε]νομ[ενοι or Πελο]πον[νησιοις.

1623. THUCYDIDES iii.

14·7 × 5·5 cm. Fifth or sixth century.

This fragment of a leaf of a vellum codex contains part of Thuc. iii. 7–9, with fairly numerous stops (in all three positions), paragraphi, accents, breathings, and diaereses. The only correction preserved, the insertion of a ν ἐφελκυστικόν in l. 45, is due to the original scribe, who wrote a good-sized upright oval uncial hand of the fifth or sixth century. Iota adscript is omitted once and written once. Traces of ruling are discernible on the recto, which is the hair side. The text in spite of its comparatively late date stands somewhat apart from the

mediaeval MSS., agreeing once with CGM, probably twice with the B group (cf. **1620**. int.), and presenting several new readings. Of these the omission of *τῶν νεῶν* in l. 1 and *τὸ πεζόν* for *τὸν π.* in l. 11 are quite defensible. More interesting is the variant *ἀνε[πλευσε* for *ἔπλευσε* in l. 8, where the simple verb was rather ambiguous. The precise nature of the variation in ll. 19–20 is obscured by lacunae. **1616** was found with **1623**.

Recto.

[πλειους α]ποπεμπει παλι[¯ 7. 3
[επ οικου] ὁ Ασώπιος· αυτος 4
[δ εχων δ]ωδεκα αφικνεῖ
[ται ες Ναυ]πακτον· και υστε
[ρον Ακαρ]νᾶνας αναστη
[σας πανδη]μεί. στρατευει
[επ Οινιαδας] και ταις τε ναυ
[σι κατα? τον Αχ]ελῶον ανε
[πλευσε και ο] κατα γην στρα
[τος εδηιου τη]ν χωραν·
[ως δ ου προσεχ]ώρουν. το μ̄ε 5
[πεζον αφιησιν] αυτος δε
[πλευσας ες Λευκ]αδα και από
[βασιν ες Νηρικο]ν ποιησα
[μενος αναχωρω]ν διαφθει
[ρεται αυτος τε κα]ι της στρα
[τιας τι μερος υπο τ]ων αυτό
[θεν τε ξυμβοηθησ]αντων
[και φρουρων τινων ?] ων υστερῡ 6
[υποσπονδους τους] νεκρους
[αποπλευσαντες οι] Αθηναι
[οι παρα των Λευκα]διων
10 lines lost

Verso.

δευτερον ενικα [και επει 8
δη μετα την ε[ορτην κα
τεστησαν ες λο[γους ειπον
τοιάδε· το μεν [καθεστος 9. 1
τοῖς Ἕλλησι νο[μιμον ω αν
δρες Λακεδαι[μονιοι και
ξυμμαχοι ἴ[σμεν τους
γαρ αφιστα[μενους εν τοις
πολεμοις κ[αι ξυμμαχιαν
την πριν [απολειποντας
οἳ δεξαμε[νοι καθ οσον μεν
ωφελουν[ται εν ηδονηι
εχουσιν· νο[μιζοντες δ ει
ναι προδ[οτας των προ του
φιλων χ[ειρους ηγουνται
και ουκ α[δικος αυτη η αξι 2
ωσις εστ[ιν ει τυχοιεν προς
αλληλ[ους οι τε αφιστα
μενοι κ[αι αφ ων διακρι
νοιντο [ισοι μεν τη γνω
μηι ον[τες και ευνοια
ἀντι[παλοι δε τηι παρα
10 lines lost

1. πλειους α]ποπεμπει: πλ. ἀποπέμπει τῶν νεῶν MSS. Since αἱ νῆες occurred in the previous sentence, the repetition is unnecessary.

8–9. ανε[πλευσε: ἔπλευσε MSS. ἀναπλεῖν occurs only once in Thuc. i. 104. 2 καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον, where it implies sailing up stream. If this was also implied here, ναυ[σιν ες τον Αχ]ελωον αν. may have been the reading; but ανε[πλευσε may simply

mean 'sailed out', in which case it hardly differs from the simple verb and *κατά* means 'in the direction of' or 'off' or perhaps even 'on'. Oeniadae was situated near the mouth of the Acheloüs, surrounded in winter by marshes into which the Acheloüs flowed (Thuc. ii. 102. 2), and of which one connected with the Gulf of Corinth according to Strabo, p. 459. The ships may therefore have been taken a little way up the river. A compound verb has this advantage over the simple one that it is not open to the interpretation 'he sailed down the Acheloüs', which is inadmissible here; cf. iv. 25. 8 *ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην* (in Sicily) *ποταμὸν τὴν γῆν ἐδῄουν*. That *ἀνέπλευσε* here means 'sailed back' (Asopius had already passed Acarnania on his way up the gulf to Naupactus) is less likely.

11. *το*: *τὸν* MSS. Thucydides uses both the masculine and neuter of *πεζός* substantivally

18–19. *αυτό*|[*θεν* (ABEFM, edd.) suits the length of the lacuna better than *αυτό*|[*θι* (CG). The supposed accent is very doubtful.

19–20. *τινων*?] *ων υστερον* |[*υποσπονδους*: *τινῶν ὀλίγων καὶ ὕστερον ὑπ.* MSS. There is certainly not room for both *τινων* and *ολιγων* and there is no trace of *και*, but *ων* instead of being *ὧν* might be the termination of *τιν*]*ων* or *ολιγ*]*ων* with *δ* before *υποσπονδους* in l. 20, though the supplement there is quite long enough. *υ* and *ερ* of *υστερον* are fairly certain; the *στ* is cramped and seems to have been corrected, probably from *π*, and *ō* is not a very satisfactory reading. *ὧν* is not in accordance with Thucydidean usage in this context, *καὶ ὕστερον ὑποσπόνδους* being common.

37–8. *αν*]*δρες*: so ABEFM; om. CG, edd.

41. *πολεμοις*: so CGM, edd.; *πολεμίοις* ABEF.

1624. PLATO, *Protagoras*.

Fr. 1 10·5 × 17 cm. Third century. Plate VI (Cols. lxiii–iv, lxvi).

These scanty remains of a roll containing the *Protagoras* originally consisted of about 100 pieces, of which nearly three-quarters have been placed and some very minute scraps ignored. The identified fragments, which amount to about 230 lines in all, are scattered over the latter part of the dialogue from pp. 337–57, representing 23 out of the last 71 columns, but none at all completely. The upper margin is partly preserved in Cols. ii, xx, xxxv, xxxvii, xlv, lxi, lxiii–v, the lower in Cols. i, xvi, and lxiii, showing that each column contained 37 or 38 narrow lines of 10–17 letters, usually 12 or 13. The writing is a handsome specimen of the now well-known third-century type of uncials approximating to that of the early biblical codices; cf. **1365**. int. Like **1017** (*Phaedrus*), **1624** is remarkable for the presence of many corrections or alternative readings, which have been inserted in a different and cursive hand. These seem to have been written somewhat later in the third century than the scholia in **1241**, but to be contemporary with the scholia in P. Grenf. ii. 12, the main text in those two papyri being in hands very similar to the first hand of **1624**, which is probably not later than the middle of the century. Iota adscript was written,

so far as can be judged. Paragraphi were employed by the first hand, but in the four places in which they occur have been placed in brackets by the corrector. Stops in all three positions occur, besides double dots marking a change of speaker, but in many cases are due to the corrector, who was apparently responsible for a breathing in l. 169 and accent in l. 285. Wedge-shaped signs for filling up short lines, occasional diaereses over *ι* and *υ*, and probably the accent in l. 16 and elision-mark in l. 227 are due to the first hand. The corrector's omissions, apart from the bracketing of paragraphi mentioned above, are indicated in ll. 114, 272, 589 by a stroke, elsewhere by dots, above the letters in question.

Papyri of Plato are now fairly numerous, **1624** being the 19th known ; but no fragments of the *Protagoras* have been discovered previously. For this dialogue the chief MSS. are B (the Clarkeanus), T (the Marcianus), and W (Vindobonensis 54) ; but **1624** happens to cover very few passages in which they differ seriously. A mistake of BT is avoided (l. 360), but in ll. 629 and 663 the papyrus apparently supports BT against W. In ll. 319 and 435 the first hand agrees with the reading of W, the corrector with that of BT (in l. 435 not exactly). Some agreements between **1624** and Vaticanus 1029 are noticeable (ll. 435, 592, 632, nn.) and the text of Stobaeus is supported in l. 396, so that with regard to the existing tradition there is no reason to suppose that **1624** was less eclectic than the longer Plato papyri from Oxyrhynchus, **843** and **1016–17.** In the new readings, which are frequent, the first hand and the corrector usually took different views, the only instance in which they agreed upon a hitherto unrecorded variant being the insertion of the article before *μέρει* in l. 288. In ll. 6, 594, 632, and 637 the corrector has restored the ordinary reading of the MSS. by inserting words omitted either intentionally or by inadvertence by the first hand ; cf. also ll. 176–7, n. The first hand was not a very accurate scribe, to judge by several apparent repetitions of syllables ; cf. l. 114, n., and **843** (*Symposium*), which has numerous mistakes of this character. The most striking of the new readings rejected by the corrector is the addition of *αἱ* before *ἴσαι* in l. 589, a reading which had been generally adopted by modern editors from a conjecture of Heindorf, but is hardly rendered more convincing. More often it is the first hand, not the corrector, who agrees with the MSS. ; cf. ll. 15, 431, 481, 486, 490, 590, 592, 640, 665, 666, 672, nn. In several of these places there is an obvious difficulty in the ordinary reading, and in l. 672 the corrector's reading had already suggested itself to some of the Renaissance editors of Plato as an improvement, while in ll. 15 and 640 his readings seem to be superior ; but the changes proposed in ll. 592 and 666 are of more doubtful value. The other novelties are all of the nature of omissions from the ordinary text, in revising which the corrector, presumably on the authority of a different

MS., exhibits an unwonted and perhaps exaggerated tendency to solve difficulties by excisions. His text is, however, as a whole distinctly better than that of the first hand, and interesting as a specimen of a recension which was probably due to some Alexandrian grammarian, and possibly connected with the corrector's text in **1017**. A proneness to omissions of words found in the traditional text is one of the characteristics of the *Phaedo* and *Laches* papyri of the third century B. C., but these of course differ from the ordinary text much more widely than **1624**.

Col. i (Frs. 1. i, 2).

[μι]ν ῃ [ξυν]ου[σ]ια 337 b
γιγνοιτ[ο]. υμε[ι]ς τε
[γ]αρ οι λεγοντες μα
λιστ αν ουτως εν η
μιν τοις ακουου
[σι]ν ευδοκιμοιτε· και
[ουκ] επαινοισθε· ευ
μεν
δοκιμειν τε γαρ εσ
τι παρα ταις ψυ
χαις των [ακ]ουον
των αν[ευ] απα
τ[ης επαι]νεισθαι
[δε] ἐν λογωι πολλα
[κι]ς παρα δοξαν
ον
[ψε]υδομενων· η 337 c
[με]ις τ αῦ οι ακου
[ουτε]ς μαλιστ α[ν
[ουτως ευ]φρα[ινοι
16 lines lost
[δε] τ[ον Προδικον
Ιππ[ιας ο σοφος ει
πεν [ω ανδρες ε

Col. ii (Frs. 1. ii, 3–4).

φη [οι παροντες η
γο[υμαι εγω υμας
ξ
συ[γγενεις τε και
οικ[ειους και πο]λι
[τας απαν]τας ειναι
[φυσει ο]υ νομωι· 337 d
[το γαρ] ομοιον τωι
ο[μοιω]ι φυσει ξυγ
γεν[ες] εστιν ο δε
νομ[ος] τυραννος
ων των ανθρω
πω[ν] πολλα πα
ρα τη[ν] φυσιν βια
ζετ[αι η]μας ουν
[—]
αισχ[ρον] την μεν
φυ[σιν τ]ων πρα
γ[ματων ει δ]ε[ν]αι·
12 lines lost
του] τ[ο]υ αξ[ιωμα
τος] αξιον α[ποφη
]ν[ασ]θαι· αλλ [ωσπερ 337 e
]του[ς] φαυλο[τατους
]των ανθρω[πων
δια]φερεσθα[ι αλ
ληλο]ις· ε[γω μεν
2 lines lost

Col. iii (Fr. 1. iii).

10 lines lost

86 ṭ[ο κατα βραχυ λι 338 a
αν [ει μη ηδυ Πρω
ταγ[ορ]αι αλλ εφει
ν[α]ι κ[αι χαλασαι

90 τας η[νιας τοις λο
γοις [ινα μεγαλο
πρε[πεστεροι και
ευσχ[ημονεστε
About 20 lines lost

Col. ix (Fr. 5).

[[υσ[τερον]] ουκ ορθως 339 d
115 λεγ[ει ειπων ουν
[τ]ạυ[τα πολλοις

Col. xvi (Fr. 6).

About 36 lines lost
153 πειν· ε̣[ι βουλει λα 341 e
βειν μ[ου πειραν

Col. xvii (Fr. 7).

12 lines lost
167 ν[υ και οι αλλοι εγω 342 a
[[—]]
το[ινυν ην δ εγω
ἁ γ εμ̣[οι δοκει περι
170 του α[ισμα]τος [του
του πει̣ρ̣[α]σομ[αι
ϋμιν δι[ε]ξελ̣θειν
φιλ[οσ]οφια γα[ρ εσ
τιν παλαιοτατ[η
175 τε και πλειστη [των
Ελληνων [[κα[ι]] εν
Κρη[τ]ηι και εν [Λα 342 b
κεδα[ι]μονι· κα[ι σο
φισται πλειστ[οι
180 γης εκει εισιν· α[λλα
εξ̣α̣ρνουνται κα̣[ι
σχηματιζοντ[αι
αμαθεις [ει]ναι· ι[
να μη κ[αταδη
185 λοι ωσιν [οτι σο
About 7 lines lost

Col. xix (Fr. 8).

About 30 lines lost
223 [τιστης ωσ]τε [φαι 342 e
[νεσθαι τ]ον π[ροσ]δι[α
225 [λεγο]μενον π̣αι
[δος μ]ηδεν βελτει
[ω του]τ' ου[ν] αυτο
[και των νυν] εισιν
[οι κατανενο]ηκα
230 [σι και των π]α̣λ̣[αι ο

Col. xx (Frs. 9–10).

231 [τι το λακ]ωνι̣ζ̣ε̣[ιν 342 e
[πολυ μα]λλ̣[ον εσ
[τι φιλοσο]φε[ιν η
[φιλογυμν]α̣σ[τειν
235 [ειδοτες ο]τ̣ι τ̣[οι
About 33 lines lost

Col. xxiii (Fr. 11).

τ[ουτο γε φαινειη 343 c
αν [και ου Σιμω
νι[δου [[. . . . .]]
[[το[. . .]] αλλ υπερ
βα[τον δει θειναι
[ε]ν τ[ωι αισματι

Col. xxxv (Fr. 13).

[ο]υτε ψαλτρ[ι]ας· αλλ α 347 d
[α]υτους εαυτοις ι
κανους οντας ξυν[
[ε]ι
[[.]]ναι ανευ των λη
[ρ]ων τε και παιδι-
ὧν τουτων δια
της εαυτων φω
νης λεγοντας τε
και ακουοντας εν τω[ι
μερει εαυτων κο
[σ]μιως· [κ]α[ι] παιν
[πολ]υ[ν οινο]ν πιω

About 26 lines lost

Col. xxxi (Fr. 12).

[μος] τ[ων γαρ ηλι 346 c
θιων [απειρων γε
νεθλ[α ωστ ει τις
χαιρε[ι ψεγων εμ
πλησ[θειη αν ε

Col. xxxvii (Fr. 14).

[ποιειν ο]υκ εθε 348 b
[λων ειτε δ]ωσει[[ν]] [λο
[γον ειτε] μη δ[ια
[σαφειν ε]μοι [γ]α[ρ

About 34 lines lost

Col. xlv (Frs. 15–17).

γαρ [ει] ουτ[ω μετιων 350 d
εροιο με· ε[ι ισχυροι
[δ]υνατοι ε[ισι φαι 350 e
[η]ν αι[·] επ[ειτα
[ει] οι επισταμ[ενοι
[π]αλαιειν δυ[να
[τωτ]εροι εισι τω[ν
[μη επισταμ]εν[ων

About 30 lines lost

Col. xlvi (Frs. 18–19).

[απο τε]χνης γ[ιγνε 351 a
[ται α]νθρωποις· και
[απο θυμο]υ γε και
[απο μανια]ς [ωσ]

Col. lvii (Fr. 20).

κο]υσι[ν εφη ο 354 d
]Πρω[ταγορας αλ
λο] τ[ι ουν παλιν

Col. lix (Fr. 21).

About 27 lines lost

ταδ[ηλον εσται ε 355 b
αν μ[η πολλοις ο

Col. lxi (Fr. 23).

[μι]ν. των αγαθων 355 d
[τ]α κακα· η αξιων;
φησομεν δηλον ο

νομα[σι χρωμεθα
[[αρα]] ηδε[ι τε και α
νιαρωι [και αγαθωι
και κα[κωι αλλ ε
πειδη [δυο εφανη
και [
ταυτα δ[υοιν ονο
[[ονο]]μα[σι προσαγο
ρε[υομεν αυτα
π[ρω]τ[ον μεν αγα

Col. lx (Fr. 22).

5 lines lost

[μεν οτι γιγν]ωσ 355 c
[κων ο ανθρωπ]ος
[τα κακα οτι κ]α

About 30 lines lost

τι αποκρινομενοι
[[[οτ]ι]] ουκ αξιων ον
[τω]ν· ου γαρ αν εξη
[μα]ρτανεν ον φα
[με]ν ηττω ειναι
[τω]ν ηδονων: κα
[τα τι] δε φησει [[ϊσως]]
[ανα]ξια εστι ταγα
[θα τω]ν κακων· η
[τα κα]κα τω[ν α]γα
[θων] [[η]] κα[τ αλλ]ο τι
[η οταν] τα [μεν] μει
[ζω τα δε σμικροτ]ε

About 22 lines lost

Col. lxii (Fr. 24).

About 20 lines lost

νο]ν κ[αι ηδεος και 356 a
λ]υπηρ[ου μων α
λ]λωι τω[ι φαιην
α]ν εγωγ[ε η ηδο

About 13 lines lost

Col. lxiv (Fr. 25. ii). Plate vi.

και αι φωναι [[αι]] ϊ 356 c
σαι εγγυθεν [[μεν]]
μειζους πορρωθεν
ελαττους
δε σμικροτεραι[[:]] φαι
[—]
εν αν: ει ουν εν του 356 d
[—] ημειν ην
[[του]]τωι το ευ πρατ

Col. lxiii (Frs. 25. i, 26). Plate vi.

[δεα ιστηις]. τα μει 356 b
[ζω αει και] πλειω
[ληπτεα εα]ν δε
[λυπηρα πρ]ος λυπη
[ρα τα ελαττ]ω και
[σμικροτερα] ε[ν
About 22 lines lost
[κριν]ασθε φη[σω 356 c
[φαιν]εται ϋμ[ιν
τηι] οψει τα [αυτ
[μεγεθ η εγγυθ[εν
[μεν μ ειζω. π[ορ
[ρωθεν] δε ελατ[τω
[η ου φ]ησουσι: κ[αι
[τα παχ]εα και τ[α

τειν ε]ν τωι τα μεν
μεγαλ]α μηκη [
και πρατ]τειν [και
About 28 lines lost

πολλα] ωαυτ]ωs

Col. lxv (Frs. 27, 28. i, 29–32).

626 πι τωι α[λ]ηθει κα[ι 356 e
εσωσεν [αν] τον βι[ον]
[αρα αν ο]μολογοι
[εν ανθρ]ωποι προs
630 τα[υ]τα η μ[α]s τηι
[με]τρητ[ικ]ην σω
αν
[ζει]ν τεχν[ην] η αλ
λην τ[η ν με]τρη
[τικη]ν ω[μο]λογει:
635 [τι] δ ει εν τ[ηι] του πε
[ρ]ιττου κα[ι αρ]τιου
ην
αιρεσει η[μι]ν η σω
τηρια [του βιο]υ ο
[ποτε το πλεον ο]ρθωs
η
640 εδε[ι ελεσθαι] και ο
ποτ[ε το ελατ]τον η
αυτο προs ε[α]υτο· η
τ[ο ε]τερον π[ρ]οs το
[ετε]ρον· ειτ [ε]γγυs
645 [ειτ]ε πορρω [ει]η τι
About 17 lines lost

Col. lxvi (Fr. 28. ii). Plate vi.

663 [π]ει̣δ[η δε ηδονηs 357 a
τε κα[ι λυπηs εν ορ
665 θηι [[τη[ι]] αιρεσει εφα
ν
νη η[μιν η σωτη
ρια το[υ βιου ουσα
του τ[ε πλεονοs και
ελαττ[ονοs και μει
670 ζονοs [και σμικρο
τερου [και πορρω
ου
τερω[ι και εγγυτε
ου
ρωι· αρ[α πρωτον
μεν ο[υ μετρητι
About 25 lines lost

Fr. 33.

700]υτ[
]θαι . [
] . ηδη . [
]λα . . . [
]ω ουν [
705] . . . α [
. [

Fr. 34. Fr. 35. Fr. 36. Fr. 37. Fr. 38.

707]α 711]σα 715 . . 722]λυπ[
]μ]θε]μ .]ε 720]αιν]επ[

]νε[ ]χ·[ ]·η]γ]cυτ[
710]ν π[ ]ṛ[ ]ῃϵ]τọ[

Fr. 39. Fr. 40. Fr. 41. Fr. 42. Fr. 43.

725]ηνˉ[728]π·[731]ṿ[ ]τα·[736]λη
α[ ]·· δ[ ]ου[ ]ν]κηˉ
]τουˉ[730]ṿṛ[ ]ρ̣α̣[735]τα[
]ηˉ·[

Fr. 44. Fr. 45. Fr. 46. Fr. 47. Fr. 48.

738]σ̣·[740]··[742]η και·[ ]υ·[746]·ω[
]κη[ ]σ̣θα[ ]···[745]οσι[ ]μ̣α·[

6. και: so MSS.

7. επαινοισθε: so B, edd.; ἐπαινεῖσθε with superscribed οι T.

8. μεν: so MSS.; τε, the reading of the first hand, is probably due to a reminiscence of l. 2. It is not quite certain that he wrote [δε] rather than [τε] in l. 13.

15. [ψε]υδομενων: so MSS. except Vat. 1029 (ψευδομένω). The corrector's reading ψευδόμενον, which is passive, not middle, and refers to the subject of the infinitives, brings out the antithesis between εὐδοκιμεῖν and ἐπαινεῖσθαι more clearly, and is likely to be right.

40. σι[γγενεις so BT. Elsewhere (ll. 45 and 282) the first hand uses the ξ-form, which the corrector preferred here.

69–71. The fragment containing]ν[,]τοι[, and]τω[is not certainly placed here, and the division of lines is doubtful throughout ll. 67–73.

89. κ[αι χαλασαι: these words were bracketed by Cobet.

114. [[υσ[τερον]]: this word is in the MSS. and can hardly be dispensed with. It may well have been omitted here by the corrector because it was written twice over (cf. ll. 271–2, 436, 593–4, nn.); but the preceding words are corrupt in BT (ἡγοῖτο πότερον instead of ἤτοι τὸ πρότερον) and may have been equally corrupt in **1624**, in which case the omission of υστερον is possibly part of an extensive alteration.

169. γ εμ[οι: so some edd. since Bekker; but γε μ[οι (BT, Burnet) can of course be read equally well.

173–4. εσ]τι: so T; ἐστιν B, like the corrector.

176–7. [[κα[ι]] εν | Κρη[τ]ηι: ἐν Κ. τε MSS. The corrector may have added τε after εν.

180. α[λλα makes the line rather long, but the division αλλ' | εξαρν. would be unusual. Cf. l. 280.

223–4. Fr. 45 might be placed here, [τισ]τη[ς and [νε]σθα[ι being possible.

271–2. The MSS. have nothing between Σιμωνίδου and ἀλλ'. Possibly αλλ υπερβατον was written twice by mistake; cf. l. 114, n.

281. εαυτοις: αὑτοῖς BT. Cf. l. 286, n.

283. The letter before ναι is almost entirely lost, but has clearly been crossed through, and there seems to be a letter above the line, so that it is not satisfactory to suppose that the corrector simply altered the division ξυν|εἰναι, which is legitimate but rather unusual, to ξυνει|ναι. No variant is known here.

286. εαυτων: αὑτῶν B, edd.; αὐτῶν T. Cf. l. 281, n.

288–9. εν τα[ι| μερει: om. τωι MSS. The article is sometimes inserted, sometimes

omitted, in this phrase by Plato; cf. *Gorg.* 462 a *ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐρωτῶν τε καὶ ἐρωτώμενος* with 496 b *ἀλλ' ἐν μέρει οἶμαι ἑκάτερον καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ ἀπολλίει.*

319. δ]ωσει[⟦ν⟧]: *δώσει* BT rightly; *δώσειν* W.

357. *ισχυροι* (B) suits the probable length of the lacuna better than *οι ισχυροι* (T, edd.).

360. [*ει*] *οι* : so t, edd.; *οιει* B ; *οἴει* T.

396. *γε*: so Stobaeus, Burnet; *τε* BTW, Schanz. Cf. *ἀπὸ μανίας γε καὶ θυμοῦ* a few lines before l. 394, where Wt Stobaeus have *γε*, and BT *τε*.

397. [*απο μανια*]*ς* : the *ς* is fairly certain, and the length of the lacuna does not suit the restoration [*μανιας ω*]*σ*[*τε*, omitting *απο* in accordance with Naber's conjecture.

398–400. The division of lines in this fragment is quite uncertain.

431. ⟦*αρα*⟧: *ἆρα* BTW; *ἆμα* a corrector of the Coislinianus, Burnet. The difficulty is caused by the late position of *ἆρα* in the sentence.

435. *ἐ*[*νοιν*: so W, Vat. 1029; BT agree with the corrector in adding *καί*, but place it after instead of before *δυοῖν*. BT's order seems preferable.

436. ⟦*ονο*⟧*μο*[*σι*: probably *ονο* had been written twice by the first hand; cf. l. 114, n.

436–7. *προσαγο*]*ρε*[*νωμεν*: so edd.; *προσαγορεύομεν* BTW. Line 437 is already rather short (11 letters), and the substitution of *ο* for *ω*, though possible, is not satisfactory. *ρε*[*νομεν αυτα πρω*]*τ*[*ον*] *μ*[*εν* is inadmissible, for, though *τ* could be read instead of *π*, the only alternatives to the *τ* of *π*[*ρω*]*τ*[*ον* are *γ* and *π*.

444–6. The position assigned to this fragment is far from certain.

481. ⟦[*οτ*]*ι*⟧: the corrector omitted this word, which is in the MSS., presumably because (*δηλον*) *οτι* had occurred in ll. 479–80; cf. int.

486. ⟦*ἴσως*⟧: this word is in the MSS., but can be dispensed with.

490. ⟦*η*⟧: the omission of this word is distinctly an improvement, if *ἤ* (so MSS. and edd.) was meant. This question simply supplies the answer to the preceding one *κατὰ τί δὲ κτλ.*, and does not introduce a fresh alternative of any kind. If *η* is retained, *ἦ* seems preferable to *ἤ*.

535–8. The division of lines in this fragment is uncertain.

582. [*τηι*]: so MSS.; there would be room for two more letters in the lacuna.

588. *ωσαυτ*[*ως*: the *σ* above the line does not seem to be due to the ordinary corrector, but it is not quite certainly by the first hand.

589. ⟦*αι*⟧: *αἱ* is not in the MSS., but Heindorf's insertion of it has been accepted by practically all editors. The absence of *αἱ* can however be defended by supplying *οὖσαι* with *ἴσαι* (cf. Ast's note), and it is not at all clear that the first hand was right, even though there is a doubt about the deletion. *αι* has had dots placed above it, but through these is a horizontal stroke, such as is used in ll. 114 and 272 to indicate the deletion of the letters below. Seeing that in l. 592 the corrector has eliminated double dots marking a change of speaker not by running his pen continuously through them, but by crossing them out separately, we prefer to suppose that the corrector in l. 589 substituted one mode of expressing deletion for another (possibly for the sake of clearness, owing to the presence of a diaeresis by the first hand over the following *ι* of *ι*|*σαι*), rather than that he changed his mind about the omission of *αι* and meant to cross out the dots indicating deletion and let *αι* stand, or that this was the meaning of a possible second corrector. The bracketing of the paragraphi below ll. 51, 167, 592, and 593 may have been due to a desire on the part of the corrector to avoid confusion between paragraphi and horizontal strokes indicating deletion.

590. ⟦*μεν*⟧: nothing seems to be gained by the omission of this word, which is in the MSS., but is not essential. Since the following word began *μει*, the intrusion or omission of *μεν* would be easy.

592. *σμικροτεραι*: so MSS. except Vat. 1029, which has *ἐλάττους καὶ σμικρ.*, a conflation

of the alternative readings found here. The corrector's reading *ἐλάττους* is in accordance with *μείζω . . . ἐλάττω* in ll. 584–5.

593–4. The MSS. have *εἰ οὖν ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν ἦν τὸ* κτλ., except Venetus 184, which places *οὖν* after *τούτῳ*. *ἡμῖν* can be dispensed with, but hardly *ἦν*. *του[τωι ην]* may have been the reading of the first hand, but this restoration, even if *ην* had dots placed above it by the corrector, fails to account satisfactorily for the position of the insertion ημειν ην, and *του[τωι γε]* is less probable than a mistaken repetition of the syllable *του*: cf. ll. 114, 436, nn., and for the omission of *ἦν* after *ἡμῖν* l. 637, n.

596–7. The lacuna after *μηκη* is not very adequately filled by a wedge-shaped sign. If *μηκη [και|* be read, in the absence of any known variant for *μήκη καὶ πράττειν* the simplest course would be to suppose a mistaken repetition of *και*: cf. the preceding n.

627–8. *βι[ον| αρα αν ο]μολογοι*: or possibly *βί[ον αρ αν ο]μ.*

629. *ανθρ]ωποι*: so BT (*ἄνθ.*); *οἱ ἄνθρ.* W, Vat. 1029, Burnet. *ἄνθρωποι* may have been meant if the first hand omitted *οι*, which, though probable, is not quite certain. The *ω* of *ανθρ]ωποι* apparently projected slightly to the left of the *μ* of *ο]μολογοι* in l. 628 and *α* of *ημ]ας* in l. 630.

632. *αν*: so BT; om. Vat. 1029 like the first hand. *ἄν* is necessary in view of *ἔσωσεν ἄν* (l. 627) and *ἔσῳζεν ἄν* (lost in l. 646).

637. *ην*: so BT. *ἦν* is indispensable; cf. ll. 593–4, n.

640. *και*: so BT. The corrector's reading *η*, i. e. *ἤ*, seems to suit the argument better.

662–3. *ε|π]ειδ[η δε*: so BT; *ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ* W, Vat. 1209; *ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ* Burnet, following Adam. The vestige before *ιδ* suits *ε* better than *π*.

665. *[[τη|ι]]*: *τῇ* Bt; *πῇ* T. Vat. 1029 omits *εν* in l. 664, and possibly the first hand or the corrector differed there from the ordinary reading *εν ορθηι* (e. g. by having *τηι ορθηι* or *εν τηι ορθηι*). The mere omission of *τηι* in l. 665 is however more probable. The article can easily be dispensed with.

666. *η[μιν*: so MSS. The corrector's reading *ὑμῖν* gains some support from the proximity of *εἶεν, ὦ ἄνθρωποι* (l. 662), which introduces the summing-up of the argument, and the constant use of the second person plural throughout the dialogue with imaginary objectors in pp. 353 sqq. *ἡμεῖς*, however, not *ὑμεῖς*, is used in the previous steps of the argument (e. g. in ll. 594, 637), and the theory that good and evil ultimately meant pleasure and pain is not the starting-point of the opponents of Socrates in this part of the *Protagoras*, but on the contrary is forced upon them by him, so that there was no need for Socrates to dissociate himself from his opponents just at this point.

671–3. *πορρω|τερω[ι και εγγυτε|ρωι*: so T, and with the omission of the final iotas B and modern edd.; *πορρωτέρου καὶ ἐγγυτέρῳ* Ald. (1513); *πορρωτέρου καὶ ἐγγυτέρου* Basileensis 1 (1534), agreeing with the corrector. Stephanus objected to the coupling of the adverbs without an article to the preceding adjectives, but his criticism has been answered (e. g. by Stallbaum and Ast) by citing (1) numerous parallels in Plato for the omission of the article in enumerations after the first noun, (2) instances of the coupling of adverbs with adjectives in e. g. *Protag.* 356 a *ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ μείζω τε καὶ σμικρότερα γιγνόμενα ἀλλήλων καὶ πλείω καὶ ἐλάττω καὶ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον*, *Phileb.* 41 e *τίς . . . μείζων καὶ τίς ἐλάττων καὶ τίς μᾶλλον καὶ τίς σφοδροτέρα λύπη*. The objection to *πορρωτέρου* and *ἐγγυτέρου* here is that these adjectival forms are in general post-classical. Thucydides, however (viii. 96), has *δι' ἐγγυτάτου ἐθορύβει*, while Xenophon frequently uses *ἐγγύτερον* adverbially, and there is an obvious advantage in substituting adjectives for adverbs at this point, so that the corrector's reading is not lightly to be rejected on philological grounds alone.

700–6. It is not quite certain that this fragment belongs to the *Protagoras*.

740–1. Cf. ll. 223–4, n.

1625. AESCHINES, *In Ctesiphontem.*

32·5 × 25 cm. Second century.

This fragment of a roll consists of three incomplete columns and a few letters from a fourth, covering §§ 14–27 of Aeschines' oration against Ctesiphon, written in a clear cursive hand of the second century, probably not later than the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus, to which a document found with **1625** belongs. There were 51 or 52 lines in a column, and 24–30 letters in a line. Iota adscript was regularly written, and elision generally avoided. Punctuation was effected by paragraphi and high stops. Diaereses are sometimes placed over initial ι and υ; accents, breathings, and marks of quantity are rare (ll. 53, 63, 111). That the syllable inserted above the line in l. 53 is in a different hand is not quite certain, and a still greater doubt attaches to the supposed distinction of hands in l. 21. Seven other fragments of Aeschines from Egypt are known, of which three (**457**, **703**, and Hartel, *Vortrag über die Griech. Pap. Erz. Rainer*, 45 sqq.) belong to different parts of this oration, two (**458** and **440**; cf. Blass, *Archiv*, iii. 293) to the *De falsa leg.*, and two (Nicole, *Textes grecs inéd. de Genève*, pp. 5–12 and P. Halle 6) to the *Contra Timarchum.*

The MSS. of Aeschines number about 27, and fall into three main families, called by Blass A, B, and C. In this oration A consists of ekl, B of agmn Vat. Laur. Flor., C of dfq Barb. h generally supports A rather than C, p usually agrees with B. d (10th century) is the only MS. older than the thirteenth century, but C, the family to which it belongs, has generally been regarded as inferior to the other two, of which A is now usually considered superior to B. The untrustworthy character in general of the MSS. has been clearly shown by the papyri, most of which present a number of new and better readings, not infrequently establishing conjectures. **1625**, which is much longer than **457** and **703** and much older than Hartel's vellum fragments, is a carefully written papyrus, and naturally does not fail to make several improvements upon the ordinary text. The chief of these is in § 20, where two of the three families have an omission and the third, A, is corrupt. Here the papyrus confirms the simpler emendations of Lambinus, another early scholar (probably Scaliger), and Wolf against the more elaborate changes proposed by later editors (ll. 81–2). A gloss which had found its way into the text of all the MSS. in § 15 can now be detected and explained with the help of the scholia (l. 19), and a gloss found in B and C, but not in A, in § 24 was absent from **1625** (l. 154, n.). Hamaker's conjecture ἱερά for γέρα in § 18 is confirmed (l. 61), and Cobet's objection to the repetition λέγει . . . φησί in § 21 is justified, though by the omission of φησί, not

λέγει, as he proposed (ll. 94–5). A passage in § 19, in which the variation between present and past participles had caused difficulties, is probably set right (ll. 69–70). The other new readings mainly concern the order of words (ll. 3–4, 58–60, 97–8, 144–5), a lacuna having obscured a variant of some magnitude in ll. 135–6. In numerous instances evidence is provided for words which recent editors have wished to delete, generally in order to avoid hiatus, about which **1625** (and probably Aeschines) was not more particular than the MSS. The general relation of **1625** to them is very similar to that of most other Aeschines papyri. A is on the whole supported more frequently than B and much more frequently than C, especially in important points of divergence, there being at least 6 agreements with A (or 2 of the 3 MSS. composing it) against BC (ll. 24, 77, 81–2, 93, 116, 154 sqq.), 1 or 2 with AB against C (ll. 78, 134?), and 3 or 4 with AC against B (ll. 25, 70, 117; cf. ll. 92–3, where most of the B group and one member of A are on the wrong side). On the other hand **1625** agrees with B against AC in l. 73, with isolated members of B against all the other MSS. in ll. 62 and 131, and with BC against A at least 5 times (ll. 22 twice, 52, 53, 120, 187?). C thus comes off the worst of the three families in relation to **1625**, since it gains no support for any of its peculiar readings; but when C is in combination with A or B its relationship to **1625** is much the same as that of B in combination with A or C, **1625** agreeing with the majority in about half the instances in either case, whereas A in combination with B or C is confirmed in 6 out of 7, or (if ll. 62 and 131 are included) 9, instances.

Col. i.

[ται τας χειροτο]ν[ητας φησι]ν αρχας
[απασας ενι περι]λ[αβων ονο]ματι
[ο νομοθετης κα]ι προ[σειπων απ]ασας
[αρχας ειναι α]ς ο δη[μος χειροτ]ονει
[και τους επιστα]τας φη[σι των δη]μοσι
[ων εργων εσ]τιν δε ο [Δημοσθε]νης
[τειχοποιος ε]πιστα[της του μεγι]στου
[των εργων κ]αι πα[ν]τα[ς οσοι διαχειρι
[ζουσι τι των τη]ς πολε[ως πλεον η τρι
[ακοντα ημερ]ας· και οσο[ι λαμβανου
[σιν ηγεμονια]ς δικαστη[ριων οι δε
των εργων ε]πι[σταται π]α[ντες ηγε
[μονιαι χρωντ]αι δικαστη[ριου τι του

(Col. ii.)

και κοινηι τα γενη Ευμολπιδας και
Κ[ηρυκας και τους αλλους απαντας[·] πα
λιν τους τριηραρχους υπευθυνους ει
ναι κελευει ο νομος[·] ο[υ] τα κοινα δια
χειρισαντας ουδ απο των υμετερων
προσοδων πολλα μεν υφηρημενους
βραχεα δε καταθεντας επιδιδοναι
[δ]ε φασκοντας αποδιδοντας δε ϋ
[μι]ν [τα υμε]τερα· αλλ ομολογουμε
[νως τας πα]τ[ρωι]ας ουσιας εις την πρ[ο]ς
[υμας ανηλωκοτ]ας φιλοτιμιαν· ου τοι
[νυν μονον οι τριηραρχ]οι αλλα και τα με
[γιστα των εν τ]ηι [πολει συνε]δριων

[τους κελευει] ποιειν· ου διακονειν
[αλλ αρχειν δο]κ̣ιμασθεντας εν [τ]ῳ̣ι
[δικαστηριωι ε]π̣ειδη και αι κληρ[ωτ]α̣ι̣
[αρχαι ουκ αδο]κ̣ιμασ[τ]οι· αλ̣λ̣α δ̣ο̣κ̣ιμασ
[θεισαι αρχουσι κ]α̣ι̣ λογον και ευθυ
[νας εγγραφειν προς τ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣ [[ϊ.]] λογισ
[τας καθαπερ κ]αι τας αλλας αρχας

[κελευει οτι δ]ε̣ αληθ[[η̄ες ?]] λεγω τους νο
[μους αυτους υ]μιν αναγνωσεται·
[νομ]οι
[οταν τοινυν ω ανδρε]ς̣ Αθηναιοι
[ας ο νομοθετης αρχας] ονομαζει

26 lines lost

Col. ii.

[φ]ερονται· εν γαρ τα[υ]τηι [τ]ηι π[ολ]ει ου
[τω]ς̣ ᾱι αρχαι ουσηι και τηλικα̣υτη[ι τ]ο̣ με
γεθος ουδεις εστιν ανυ̣[π]ευθ̣υ̣νος
των και οπωσουν προς τα κοινα̣ π̣ρ̣οσ
εληλυθοτων· διδαξω δ υ[μ]ας π̣ρ̣ω̣τον
επι των παραδοξων· οιον τ̣ο̣υ̣ς ϊερεις
και τας ϊερειας υπευ[θ]υνους ειναι ο νο
μος κελευει· και συλληβδην παντας·
και χωρις εκαστους κατα σωμα· και τους
τα ϊ[ε]ρα μονον λαμβανοντας και τας
ευχας τας υπερ ημων προς τους θεους
ευχομενους· και ου μονον ϊδϊᾱι αλλα

Col. iii.

ουδε αλλα [πολλα· ενι δε λογωι ενε
χυραζε[ι ο] ν̣[ομοθετης τας ουσιας των
υπευθυνων εως [αν λογον αποδωσιν
τηι πολει· ναι α̣[λλ εστι τις ανθρωπος ος
ουτε ειληφε[ν ουδεν των δημοσιων

υπο την των δικ]α̣στων ε[ρχε]ται ψη
φον πρωτον μεν] γαρ τη[ν βου]λην την
[εν Αρειωι παγωι] ε̣[γ]γραφ[ειν] προς τους
[λογιστας ο νομο]ς̣ κελ[ευε]ι λογον
[και ευθυνας διδοναι] και τον εκ[ει] σκυθρω
[πον και των] μ̣ε̣γιστων [κυριο]ν̣ αγει
[υπο την υμετεραν ψηφον ου]κ̣ α[ρ]α̣ σ̣τ̣ε̣[φα
νωθησεται η βουλη η εξ Αρειο]υ̣ π̣α̣γου
[ουδε γαρ πατριον αυτοις εστιν] ουκ α
[ρα φιλοτιμουνται πανυ γε αλλ ουκ αγ]α̣
[πωσιν εαν τις παρ αυτοις μη αδικη]ι̣
[αλλ εαν τις εξαμαρτανηι κ]ολαζου
[σιν οι δε υμετεροι ρητορες τ]ρυφω
[σι παλιν την βουλην τους πεν]τα
[κοσιους υπευθυνον πεποιη]κεν ο νο
[μοθετης] και ουτ[ως ισχυρως] απισ
[τει τοις υπ]ευθυνοις ωστε ευθυς αρ
[χομενος] των νομων λεγει· αρχην
[υπευθυνον μη απο]δ̣η̣[μει]ν̣ ω Ηρακλεις
[υπολαβοι αν τις οτι ηρξα μη α]ποδη
[μησω ινα γε μη προλαβων τη]ς πο
[λεως χρηματα η πραξεις δρασ]μωι
[χρησηι παλιν υπευθυνον ου]κ ε
[αι την ουσιαν καθιερουν ουδε ανα]θη
[μα αναθειναι ουδε εκποιητον] γε
[νεσθαι ουδε διαθεσθαι τα εαυ]τ̣ου

προφασιουν̣[ται μεχρι δευρο ειρησθω
μοι· [ο]τι δ[ε οντως ην υπευθυνος ο Δη
μοσθεν[ης οτε ουτος εισηνεγκε το
ψηφι[σμα αρχων μεν την αρχην την ?
επι τω[ι θεωρικωι αρχων δε την

ουτε αναλωκ[ε προσηλθε δε προς
τι των κοινω[ν και τουτον αποφερειν
κελευει λογ[ον προς τους λογιστας
και πως ὅ γε μ[ηδεν λαβων μηδε ανα
λωσας αποισ[ει λογον] τ̣η̣ι̣ π̣[ολει· αυτος
υποβαλλει κ̣α̣[ι διδα]σ̣κ̣[ει ο νομος α χρη
γραφειν· κελε̣[υει] γ̣αρ αυτο τ[ουτο] εγ[γρα
φειν οτι ου[τε ε]λ̣α̣β̣[ον ουθ]εν των της
πολε̣ω̣ς̣ [ουτε α]ν̣α̣λωσα ανυ̣πευθυ
[ν]ον [δ]ε και αζητητον και ανεξετα[σ]
το[ν] ουθεν εστιν των ε̣ν̣ [τη]ι πολει· ο
τι δε αληθη λεγω αυτων ακουσατε
των νομων[·]

ν̄ομοῑ

οταν τοινυν μαλ[ι]στα θρασυνηται 23
Δημοσθενης λεγ[ω]ν̣ ως δια την επιδο
σιν [ου]κ̣ εστιν υπευ[θυνος] ε̣κ̣ε̣ινο αυ
τω[ι υπ]οβαλλετε· ου[κ ου]ν̣ εχρην σε·
ω Δημοσθενες εασ[αι τον] τ[ω]ν λογισ
των κηρυκα κηρ[υ]ξα[ι το π]α̣[τρ]ιον και
εννομον κηρυγμα τ̣[ουτο]· τ̣ι̣ς̣ βουλε
ται κατηγορειν· εασ ον αμ̣φισβητησαι
σοι τον βουλομ[ενον των] π̣[ολ]ιτων
ως ουκ επιδε̣[δωκας αλλ απο] π̣ολ
λων ων εχει̣[ς εις την των τειχω]ν
οικοδομ̣[ιαν μικρα κατεθηκας δεκα τα
λαντ̣[α εις ταυτα εκ της πολεως ειλη
φως· μη [αρπαζε την φιλοτιμιαν . . . . . .
λ̣ου· μη[δε εξαιρου των δικαστων τας ψη
φους εκ τ̣[ων χειρων μηδε εμπροσθεν
των νομ[ων αλλα υσ̣τ̣ερος πολιτευου·
ταυτα γα[ρ ορθοι την δημοκρατιαν· προς 24
μεν ουν τ[ας κενας ? προφασεις ας ουτοι

των τει[χοποιων ουδετερας δε πω
των αρχ̣[ων τουτων λογον υμιν ου
δ ευθυν̣[ας δεδωκως ταυτ ηδη πει
ρασομαι [υμας διδασκειν εκ των δη
μοσιων γ[ραμματων· και μοι αναγνω
θι επι τινος̣ [αρχοντος και ποιου μηνος
και εν τινι [ημεραι και εν ποιαι εκκλη
σιαι εχειρο[τονηθη Δημοσθενης
την αρχην [την επι τωι θεωρικωι

Col. iv.

28 lines lost

ψ̣α̣[ι στεφανωσαι· ως τοινυν και την 27
τω̣[ν τειχοποιων αρχην ηρχεν οθ ου
το[ς το ψηφισμα εγραψε και τα δημο
σια̣ [χρηματα διεχειριζε και επιβο
λα[ς επεβαλλε καθαπερ οι αλλοι
αρχ̣[οντες και δικαστηριων ηγεμο

18 lines lost

3. ο νομοθετης, which must have stood in the lacuna, was bracketed by Weidner

and Blass. Whether **1625** had προ[σειπων with most MSS. and edd., or προ[ειπων with dnq, is uncertain. Cf. § 17, where BC have προσειπεῖν, A rightly προειπεῖν.

3–4. απ]ασας | [αρχας: ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας MSS. Probably **1625** is right, and the reading of the MSS. is due to the influence of ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας in ll. 1–2.

6–7. [Δημοσθε]νης was bracketed by Schanz and Blass, while after τειχοποιός Halm inserted ὤν, for which there is not room here.

8. πα[ν]τα[ς: so most MSS. and edd.; but πα[ν]τε[ς could be read with e.

18. και ευθυ[νας was bracketed by Dobree and Blass.

19. προς τους [ϊ.] λογισ[τας: πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τοὺς λογιστὰς MSS.; cf. Schol. B (on the margin of a printed book; source unknown) γραμματέα λέγει τὸν εἰωθότα ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τὰ τοῦ δήμου γράμματα ἀναγινώσκειν, and Schol. gm Vat. Laur. λογιστὴς ἑκάστης φυλῆς εἷς. γραμματέα δὲ ἕκαστοι εἶχον. λέγει οὖν νῦν τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν. ἄλλως· ἄρχοντες ἦσαν δέκα ᾑρημένοι καλούμενοι λογισταί . . . The omission of τὸν γραμματέα καί in **1625** brings this passage into line with ll. 79–80 ‹[γ]γραφ[ειν] προς τους [λογιστας and 109–10 αποφερειν] κελευει λογ[ον προς τους λογιστας, where the MSS. equally ignore the γραμματεύς. The scholia do not really support the longer reading. The logistae no doubt had γραμματεῖς, but the order of the words and the use of the singular γραμματέα show that these are not meant here, while the explanation of Schol. B is not at all convincing, for the γραμματεύς who read the laws, &c., in the assembly was quite a different kind of official from the λογισταί, and not likely to have been specially concerned with εὐθῦναι. A comparison of l. 22 ἀναγνώσεται (sc. ὁ γραμματεύς) with § 124, where most MSS. have ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεύς (ἀνάγνωθι Blass with e), indicates that Schol. B has been misplaced, and really refers to l. 22, while τὸν γραμματέα καί in the MSS. at l. 19 is a corruption arising out of this very scholium or one like it owing to a mistaken idea that τὸν γραμματέα occurred in the text about this point, the accusative case suggesting l. 19 as a suitable point for the insertion of the words with καί to restore the construction. With regard to the deletion before λογιστας there were, as the scholium states, 10 of these officials; but it is unlikely that a second-century scribe would place a diaeresis instead of a stroke above ι (which is fairly certain), if it meant 10, and he seems to have written or begun to write another letter after ϊ, though it is not clear how much ink belongs to a stroke of deletion.

21. κελευει, which must have stood here, is deleted by several editors, but not by Blass.

αληθη: of the supposed η above the line only a vertical stroke remains, and the correction may be due to the first hand: the nature of the original reading is still more doubtful.

22. αυτους υ]μιν: so BC; ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς A, Blass.

αναγνωσεται: so BC, Blass; ἀναγνῶτε A. Cf. l. 19, n.

23. νομ]οι: so most MSS. and edd.; νόμος a; om. ep Vat.[1]

24. ανδρε]ς: so A, Blass; om. BC.

25. ας ο νομοθετης αρχας] ονομαζει | [ουτοι: so AC, Blass; ὁ μὲν νομοθ. ἀρχὰς ὀνομάζῃ οἵτοι δὲ B. Schultz.

52. εν: εὖ kl.

53. αρχαιαι: so MSS.; ἀρχαίᾳ ⟨τ'⟩ Blass, to avoid hiatus.

τηλικαυτη[ι: so BC, Blass; τοσαύτῃ A.

55. και: om. lp Vat. προς: εἰς p.

57. οιον: οἷς p. ϊερεις: so MSS.; ἱερέας edd.

58–9. ο νομος κελευει: κελ. ὁ νομ. MSS. Cf. ll. 66–7, n.

59. παντας: ἅπαντας MSS.

60. και τους: om. καὶ MSS.

61. ϊ[ε]ρα: so Hamaker; γέρα MSS., Blass. The top of the ι is lost, but one of the two dots is visible. ἱερά is no doubt right, the point being that priests got no public money.

The confusion was easy; cf. the spellings Ιεμη and Γεμη for the same Oxyrhynchite village (**1285**. 98 and **1444**. 34) and *ειγερον* for *ιερον* in P. Weil vi. 6.

μονον: so most MSS., Blass; *μόνα* ag Vat., Laur.

62. *τας*: om. MSS. *ημων*: so a; *ὑμῶν* the rest, Blass.

64. *τα*: so most MSS., Blass; *κατἄ* hm *γρ.*

65–6. *παλιν*: *καὶ πάλιν* q.

66–7. *ειναι κελευει*: *κελεύει εἶναι* p Vat. Cf. ll. 58–9, n.

67–8. *διαχειρισαντας*: the last *α* is corr. from *ε*. *διαχειρίζοντας* some edd., but cf. ll. 69–70, n.

69. *προσοδων* was bracketed by Bake and Blass.

69–70. *υφηρημενους . . . καταθεντας*: *ὑφαιρουμένους . . . καταθέντας* AC; *ὑφαιρουμένους . . . κατατιθέντας* B, Blass. Probably **1625** is right, and the reading of B is an emendation of that of AC, which is a corruption of the papyrus text.

70–1. *επιδιδοναι* [*δ*]*ε*: so MSS.; *οὐδ' ἐπιδιδόναι μὲν* Blass.

73. *τας πα*]*τ*[*ρωι*]*ας*: so B, Blass; for *τοὺς τὰς πατ.* (AC, except d) there is not room.

77. *δικ*]*αστων*: so kl; *δικαστηρίων* the rest, Blass.

78. *την*: so AB, Blass; om. C.

81. *διδοναι*, which must have stood here, was deleted by Cobet, but not by Blass.

81–2. *και τον .εκ*[*ει*] *σκυθρω*[*πον και των*] *μεγιστων* [*κυριο*]*ν αγει*: so Orelli, Baiter and Sauppe, Simcox (*τὸν . . . σκυθρωπὸν* Lambinus and marg. Bern.; *ἄγει* Wolf); *κ. τῶν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπῶν κ. τ. μεγ. κύριον ἄγειν* B; om. AC; *κ. τὴν ἐκ. σκυθρωπὸν . . . κυρίαν ἄγει* Wolf, Reiske, Bekker, and, with *ἄγων* instead of *ἄγει* to avoid hiatus, Blass; cf. int. There is not room for [*κυρια*]*ν* in l. 82, even if *τον* in l. 81 did not require [*κυριο*]*ν*.

84. *η βουλη η εξ Αρειο*]*υ παγου* was bracketed by Blass to avoid hiatus.

92–3. *απισ*|*τει τοις υπ*]*ευθυνοις*: so Cahkl Vat. *γρ.*, edd. *ἀπαιτεῖ τοὺς ὑπευθύνους* egmnp Laur. Vat.

93. *ευθυς*: so A, Blass; *εὐθέως* BC.

94. *λεγει*: this was deleted by Cobet, the MSS. having after *ὑπεύθυνον* in l. 95 *φησί*, which was clearly omitted in **1625** and is not necessary.

αρχην: this was deleted by Hamaker, while Dobree preferred *ἀρχῆς*.

97–8. The MSS. have *προλαβὼν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἢ πράξεις*, from which **1625** clearly varied in regard to the position of *τῆς πόλεως* and *χρήματα*, and possibly by the insertion of *τά* after *προλαβών*.

103–4. *ενε*]*χυραζε*[*ι*: so B; *ἐνεχυριάζει* A; *ἐνεχειράζει* or *-ρίζει* C.

104. *ο*] *ν*[*ομοθετης τας ουσιας των*: so A; *τὰς οὐσίας ὁ νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν* BC, Blass; om. *ὁ νομοθέτης* Cobet. *τ*[*ας ουσιας* can be read in place of *ο*] *ν*[*ομοθετης*, but the insertion of *τας* before *των* would make the line too long, while the omission of *ο νομοθετης* would leave it too short, so that A's reading is the most probable, especially since **1625** shows no tendency to avoid hiatus.

105. The supplement is rather short, and perhaps **1625** had *ἀποδίδωσιν* with c; *ἀποδῶσι* most MSS., Blass; *ἀποδώσῃ* hq Bern., *ἀπυδώσει* Vat. Laur.

113–14. *ο νομος α χρη*] *γραφειν* was bracketed by Hamaker and Blass.

116. *ανυπευθι*[*ν*]*ον*: so A; *ἀνεύθυνον* BC, Blass.

117. *αζητητον και ανεξετα*[*σ*]*το*[*ν*]: so AC, Blass; *ἀνεξ. καὶ ἀζήτ.* B.

120. *των νομων*: so BC, Blass; *τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει* A.

121. *νομοι*: so most MSS.; *νόμος* l; om. agp Vat.

124–5. *αυτω*[*ι*: so most MSS.; *αὐτὸ* glm; om. Blass on account of hiatus.

127. *κηρυκα*: *κύριον* g.

131. *επιδε*[*δωκας*: so g; *ἀπέδωκας* q; *ἐπέδωκας* the rest, Blass. *απο*, which must have stood in the lacuna, is omitted by ek.

132. εχει[ς : so MSS., Blass ; εἶχες (Bake) is inadmissible.

134. εις ταυτα εκ της πολεως is restored from most MSS., but C omits εἰς and el have πολιτείας for πόλεως, while Blass omits ἐκ, and Bekker reads ἐκ τῶν τῆς. The length of the lacuna favours the presence of both εις and εκ, but not των as well.

135–6. . . . . |λου : α and μ are the only alternatives to λ, and the lacuna may be 2 or 3 letters shorter than as printed, but hardly any longer. The MSS. have nothing between φιλοτιμίαν and μηδέ. An imperative either preceded by μή or governing ἁρπάζειν (instead of ἅρπαζε) seems most likely, but ἑ|λοῦ is not satisfactory.

140. Whether **1625** had κοινας with the MSS. or κενας, the generally accepted correction of Stephanus, is uncertain.

144–5. την αρχην την?] | επι τω[ι θεωρικωι : τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θ. ἀρχήν (MSS., except h ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν) does not suit. την before αρχην can be omitted from the restoration, but cf. l. 154. Blass proposed ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν in both places, comparing § 25 and avoiding hiatus in l. 145; most MSS. in l. 154 have τῶν θεωρικῶν (which may of course have been the reading of **1625** in both places), but cdq have τῷ θεωρικῷ.

146. δε is omitted by df, πω by Ap Vat., and it is not certain that both these words should be restored.

153. The restoration is rather short, containing only 16 letters compared with 21 in the two lines above (l. 154 may be short for special reasons; cf. n.); and ο may be inserted before Δημοσθενης. The loss of it would be easy owing to the hiatus.

154. After τωι θεωρικωι (or των θεωρικων; cf. ll. 144–5, n.) BC proceed ὅτι μεσοῦντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγραψεν αὐτὸν στεφανοῦν ἀναγίνωσκε (ἀναγινώσκετε some MSS.) διαλογισμὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν. (διαλ. τ. ἡμ. om. B), while of the A group e has only ψήφισμα (so Blass) and kl omit the title as well as the preceding sentence. ὅτι . . . ἀναγίνωσκε was deleted by Bekker and subsequent editors as a gloss, but some retain διαλογισμὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν as the title. Allowing for a title at the top of Col. iv corresponding to l. 121, there is certainly not room for more than 27 lines of continuous text, and there may have been only 26, so that it is practically certain that the gloss was omitted by **1625**, as in A.

187. The papyrus may have had καθαπερ και οι αλλοι with C, but is unlikely to have omitted αλλοι with A.

INDICES

(Π = *the papyrus in question.*)

I. NEW THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS.

Ἀβέλ **1600.** 22.
ἄγγελος **1603.** 12.
ἄγειν **1600.** 57.
ἅγιος [**1601.** 4.]
ἀδελφός **1600.** 22?; **1602.** 29.
ἀθεράπευτος **1603.** 21.
αἰδεῖσθαι **1603.** 17.
αἷμα **1600.** 38.
αἰώνιος **1602.** 29.
ἀκούειν **1602.** 1.
ἀλλά **1600.** 16.
ἄλλος [**1600.** 31.]
ἀλλόφυλοι **1602.** 9, 15.
ἄν **1602.** 31.
ἀναβαίνειν **1601.** [2], 8.
ἀναιδής **1603.** 15.
ἀναιρεῖν **1602.** 24–5.
ἀναρίθμητος **1601.** 11.
ἀνδριώτατος **1603.** 4.
ἄνευ [**1601.** 9.]
ἀνήρ **1601.** 24.
ἀνομία **1602.** 27.
ἄνομος **1602.** 2, 7.
ἀνοσιώτερος **1602.** 8.
ἀντί **1601.** 34.
ἀντίδικος **1601.** 13.
ἄνυδρος **1602.** 17.
ἀπό **1602.** 5.
ἀποβλέπειν **1600.** 17, 21, 33.
ἀπολλύναι **1601.** 19.
ἀποτέμνειν **1603.** 11.
ἀπώλεια [**1601.** 5.]
Ἀράδ (αδαρ Π) **1602.** 9.
ἀριθμός **1601.** 9.
ἀρνίον **1600.** 56.
ἀτιμάζειν **1603.** 14?
αὐτός **1601.** [8], 19, 24; **1602.** 5, *et saep.*; [**1603.** 19.]
ἀφιστάναι **1602.** 5, 25.

βασιλεύς **1602.** 8.
βούλεσθαι **1600.** 19.

γάρ **1600.** 12, [41]; **1601.** 4, 11; **1602.** 6; **1603.** 15.
γῆ **1601.** 3; **1602.** 13, 37.
γινώσκειν **1600.** 21.
γράφειν **1601.** 32.
γραφή [**1600.** 39.]
γυνή **1601.** 29; **1603.** 1, *et saep.*

Δανείδ [**1600.** 48.]
δέ **1600.** 6; **1601.** [12], 20, 27; **1603.** 11, 19.
δεσμεύειν **1603.** 9.
δή **1600.** 4.
δηλοῦν **1600.** 7?; **1601.** 21.
διά **1600.** 6, 18, 22?, 39; **1603.** 2, *et saep.*
διάβολος **1601.** 14.
διδόναι **1602.** 11.
δίκαιος **1601.** 26.
διπλόος **1603.** 20.
διώκειν **1603.** 8.
δόσις **1600.** 19?
δύναμις **1602.** 39.

ἐάν **1600.** 16; **1601.** 32; **1603.** 19.
ἑαυτοῦ **1602.** 36.
ἐγώ **1601.** 23, 30. ἡμεῖς [**1600.** 8; **1601.** 7]; **1602.** 20, 36.
ἐδαφίζειν **1603.** 6.
ἐθνικός **1601.** 34.
ἔθνος **1601.** [2], 6, [12], 33.
εἰ **1600.** 19.
εἶναι [**1600.** 12; **1601.** 7]; **1602.** 7, 37.
εἰς **1600.** 17, 22–34, [47, 56].
ἐκ, ἐξ **1600.** 3, 5; **1601.** 33; **1602.** 2, 6, 12.
ἐκκλησία **1601.** 33.
ἐκπέμπειν **1602.** 19.
ἐκτιθέναι **1600.** 29.
ἔμπροσθεν **1600.** 44.
ἐν **1600.** [8], 34; **1601.** 21, 26; **1602.** 16; **1603.** 9.
ἐξουσία **1601.** 6.
ἐπαγγέλλειν **1602.** 13.
ἐπεί **1602.** 10.
ἐπί **1601.** 3, 24–5, 30; **1602.** 18, 39.
ἐπιθυμ( ) **1601.** 33.
ἐρεῖν [**1603.** 11.]
ἔρημος **1602.** 16.
ἔσχατος **1602.** 39.
ἔτι **1602.** 11.
εὐδοκία **1602.** 34.
ἔχειν **1603.** 19.
ἕως **1602.** 31.

ζῆν **1602.** 26.
ζητεῖν **1601.** 15.
ζωή **1600.** [43], 48.

Ἠλεί **1603.** 6.
ἡμέρα [**1600.** 46.]
Ἡσαΐας [**1600.** 34.]

θεός **1600.** 18; **1601.** 27; **1602.** 3, 10.

θρηνεῖν **1601.** 23, 25, 27.
θρηνεύειν **1601.** 28.

ἱερεύς **1603.** 6, 16.
Ἰησοῦς **1602.** 21, 35.
Ἰσραήλ **1602.** 3.
ἰσχυρός **1601.** [3], 8.
ἰσχύς **1602.** 12.
Ἰωάννης **1603.** 11.
Ἰωσήφ **1600.** 26; **1603.** 9.

καθῆσθαι [**1601.** 30.]
καινός **1600.** 10, 12, 15, 18.
καιρός **1602.** 40.
κάκιστος **1603.** 18.
κακόν **1603.** 20.
κακοπαθεῖν **1602.** 23.
κακῶς [**1600.** 32.]
καρπός **1602.** 12.
κατά **1600.** 14, 16; **1601.** 11; **1602.** 21, 26.
καταβάλλειν **1603.** 12.
καταπίνειν **1601.** 15.
κερανεῖν **1601.** 18.
κηρύσσειν **1602.** 20.
κληρονομία **1602.** 28.
κλῆρος **1602.** 22.
κόσμος [**1601.** 6.]
κρεμαννύναι **1600.** 44.
κύριος **1600.** [5], 13, 20, 40; [**1601.** 3]; **1602.** 4, 20, 33.
κυροῦν **1602.** 32.

λαμβάνειν **1602.** 22, 35.
λαός **1602.** 24.
λέγειν **1600.** 49; **1601.** 11, 25, 29.
Λευίτης **1603.** 16.
λέων **1601.** 13.
λογίζεσθαι **1600.** 58.
λόγος **1602.** 38.

μακρός **1600.** 3, 5.
μέν **1600.** 14, [41]; **1601.** 31.
μένειν **1602.** 30–1.
μερισμός **1602.** 22.
μετά **1601.** 22; **1602.** 9, 16.
μέχρι **1602.** 3.
μή **1601.** 30, 34.
μυστήριον **1600.** 13, 20, 40.
Μωύσης **1600.** 28, 42; **1601.** 32.

νηστεύειν **1601.** 28.
νικητής **1602.** 30.
νομίζειν **1600.** 11.
νόμος **1600.** 15.
νοῦς **1601.** 2.
νῦν **1602.** 29.
νύξ **1600.** 46.

ξυρεῖν **1603.** 5.

ὁδούς **1601.** 13.
ὁμοίως **1600.** 24–32.
ὅπλον **1602.** 34.
ὁρᾶν **1600.** 18, 43.
ὅς **1601.** 10, 25; **1602.** 4.
ὅσος **1602.** 16.
ὅσπερ **1601.** 21.
ὅστις **1602.** 21.
ὅτι **1594.** 15; **1600.** 1; **1601.** [2, 13], 28, [30], 31–2; **1602.** 39.
οὐ, οὐκ **1600.** 47; **1602.** 5; **1603.** 16, 17. *οὐ μή* **1601.** 30. *οὐχ ὅτι* **1594.** 15.
οὐδείς **1603.** 15.
οὐρανός **1603.** 7.
Οὔριος **1603.** 1?
οὗτος **1601.** 6, 11–12, 22, 34; **1602.** 18.
οὕτω(s) **1600.** 4; **1602.** 37.
ὀφθαλμός **1600.** 45.

πάθος **1600.** 5.
παλαιός **1600.** 10, 12, 14.
πάλη **1601.** 8.
παντοπ[αθής? **1603.** 10.
παράβασις **1603.** 3.
παράγειν [**1603.** 3.]
παραλαμβάνειν **1602.** 38.
παρέχειν **1602.** 18.
πᾶς **1603.** 13–14, 17–18.
πάσχειν **1600.** 32.
πατάσσειν **1600.** 36.
περί **1600.** 38.
περιπατεῖν [**1601.** 14.]
περιτιθέναι **1601.** 20.
πιπράσκειν **1600.** 27.
πιστεύειν **1600.** 47.
πίστις **1600.** 2.
πλοῦτος **1603.** 19.
πνεῦμα **1602.** 23, 26, 39.
πνευματικός **1601.** 7.
πολύς [**1600.** 37.]
πονηρία **1603.** 19.
πονηρός **1603.** 18.
πορνεύειν **1601.** 29, 30.
ποσάκις **1602.** 1.
πρόβατον **1600.** 35.
πρός **1600.** 3?; **1601.** 23; **1602.** 4, 10, 33; **1603.** 3.
προσέλευσις **1602.** 32.
προφητεύειν **1600.** 42.
προφήτης **1602.** 19; **1603.** 17.
προφητικός **1600.** 39.
πρῶτον **1601.** 31.

ῥίπτειν **1601.** 18.
ῥύεσθαι **1602.** 3.

σάκκος **1601.** 24.
Σαμψών [**1603.** 4.]
σήμερον **1600.** 7.
Σολομών **1603.** 3.
σοφώτατος [**1603.** 2.]
στρατιώτης **1602.** 1.
σύ, ὑμεῖς **1600.** 43, 45, 48; **1601.** 14; [**1603.** 11.]
σύμφυτος **1602.** 33.
συνεργεῖν **1603.** 20.
σφαγή [**1600.** 56.]
σφάζειν **1600.** 35.
σφάλλειν **1602.** 27.
σώζειν **1600.** 37; **1602.** 6.

τάξις **1602.** 21.
ταπεινοφροσύνη **1599.** 42.
τελειοῦν **1600.** 8?
τέταρτος **1601.** 10.
τηρεῖν **1602.** 4, 11.
τιμᾶν **1603.** 16.
τίς **1603.** 11.
τοίνυν **1600.** 19.
τυγχάνειν **1600.** 8; **1601.** 9.

τύπος **1600.** 6, 17.
τυφλοῦν **1603.** 5.

υἱός **1601.** 5; **1603.** 6.
ὑπέρ **1602.** 36.
ὑπό **1602.** 24.
ὑπομένειν **1602.** 31.
ὑποτάσσειν **1602.** 14.

φάναι **1601.** 4.
Φαραώ **1602.** 6.
φείδεσθαι **1603.** 15?
φονεύειν **1600.** 23; **1603.** 14.
φύειν **1602.** 36.
φυλακή **1603.** 9.

Χαναναῖοι **1602.** 14.
χάρις **1600.** 1, 16.
χείρ **1602.** 2, 6.
Χριστός **1602.** 1, 21, 23, 35.

ψυχή **1601.** 4, 5.

Ὦγ **1602.** 8.
ὡς **1600.** [34], 56; **1601.** 34; **1602.** 37.
Ὡσηέ **1601.** 29.

] . όζειν **1600.** 25.

II. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

(*a*) **1604** (PINDAR, *Dithyrambs*).

(*Large Roman numerals refer to the different poems; sch. = scholium.*)

Ἄβας I. 9.
ἄγειν [II. 28?]
ἀγέλα II. 23.
ἀγνοεῖν I. 6; sch.
ἀγρότερος II. 21?
ἀέξειν I. 14.
αἰγίς II. 17.
αἰθόμενος II. 10.
ἀκναμπτεί III. 12.
ἀκούειν II. 29.
ἀλαλά II. 13.
ἀλκάεις II. 17.
ἅλμα I. 16.
ἀμπνεῖν II. 15.
ἄναξ I. 3.
ἄνθρωπος II. [3], 30.
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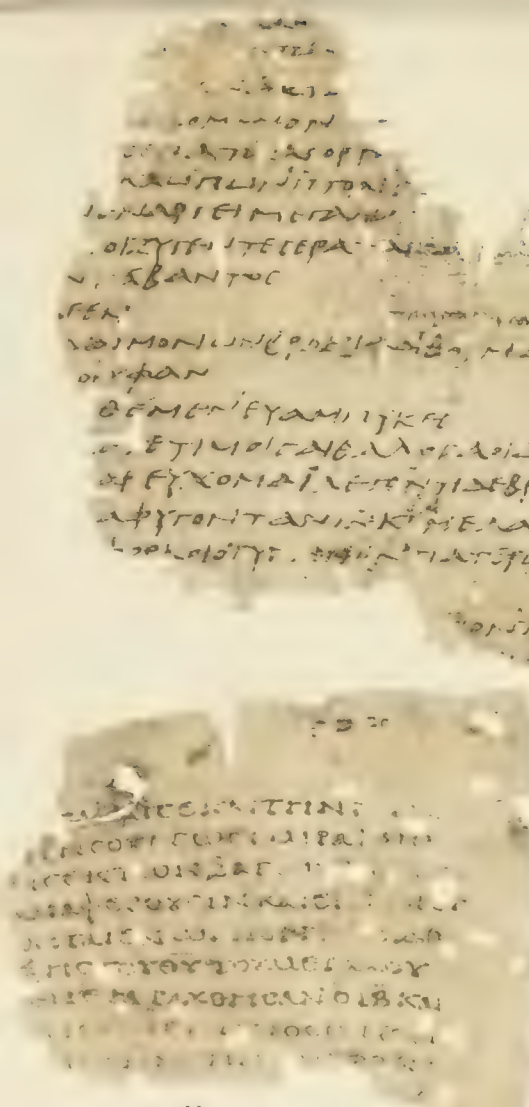

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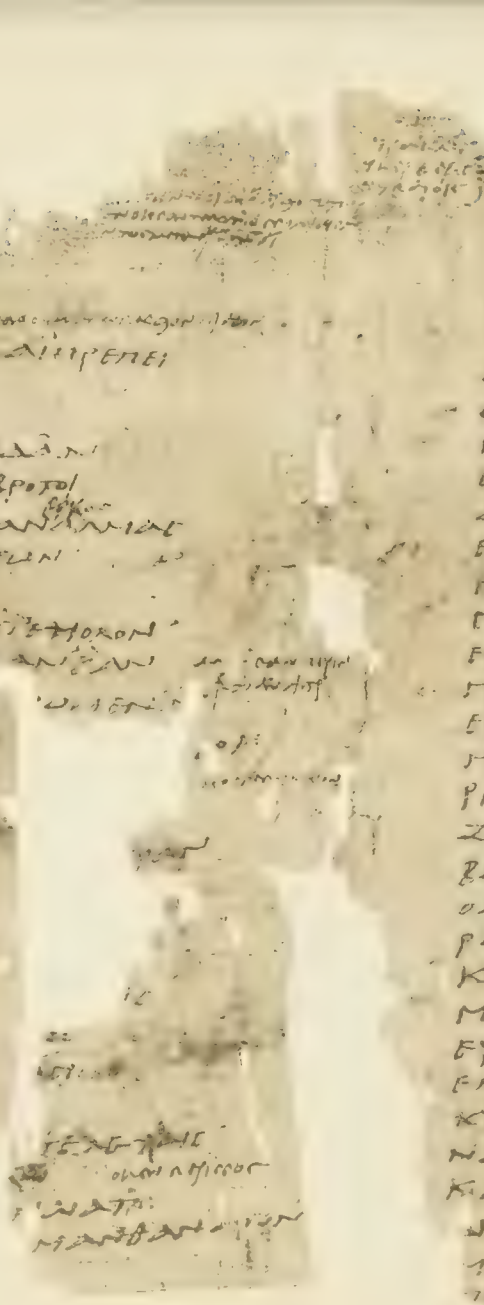

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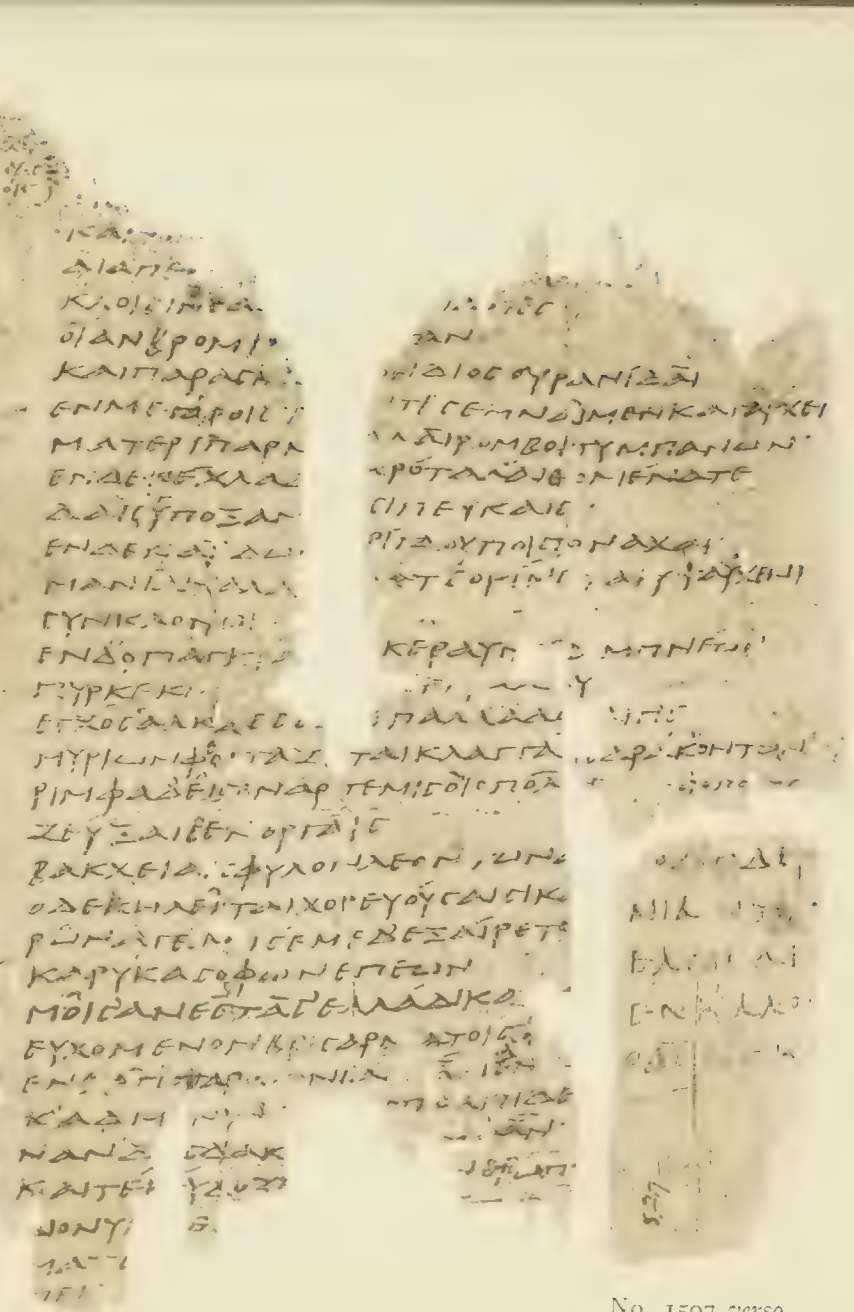

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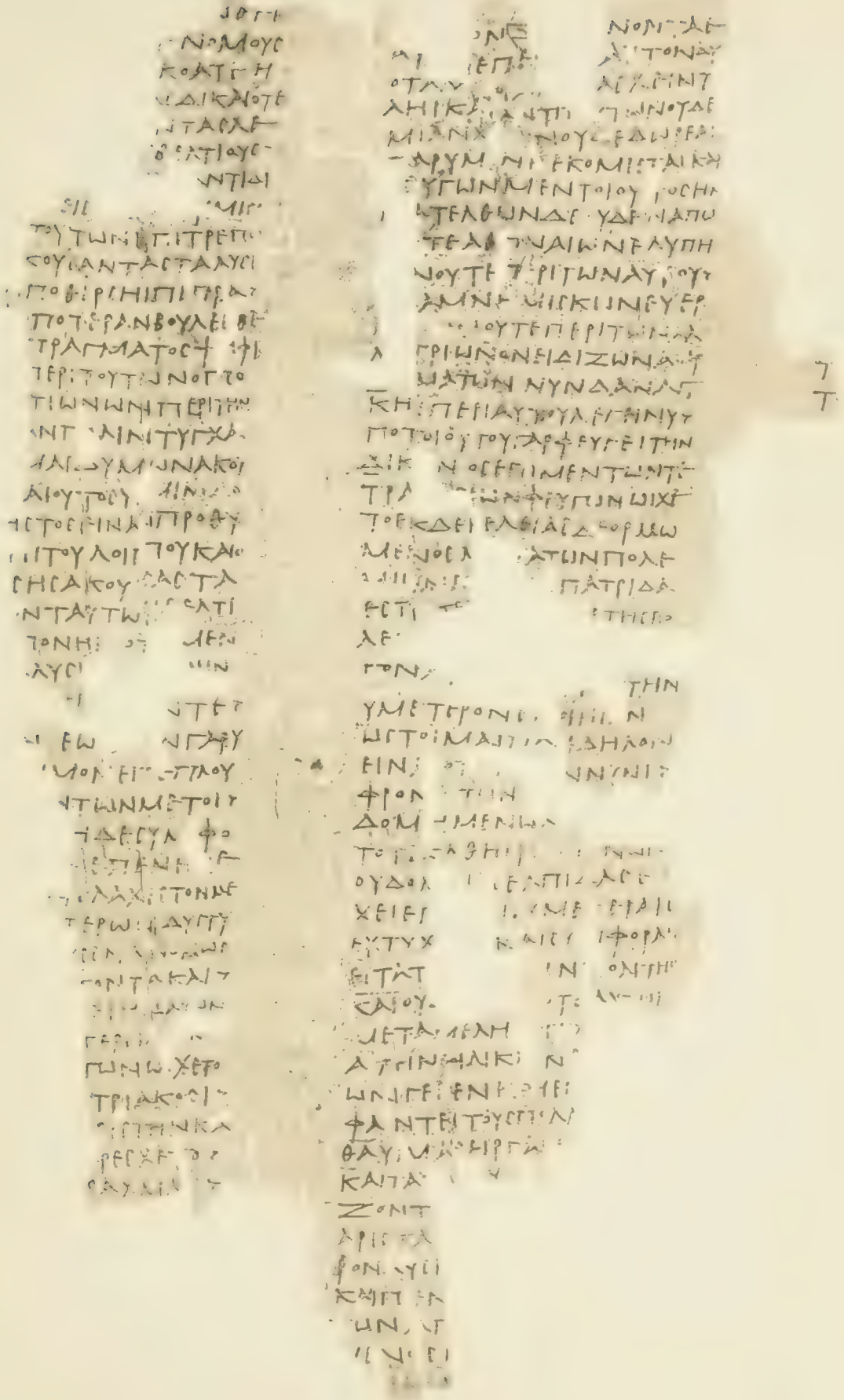

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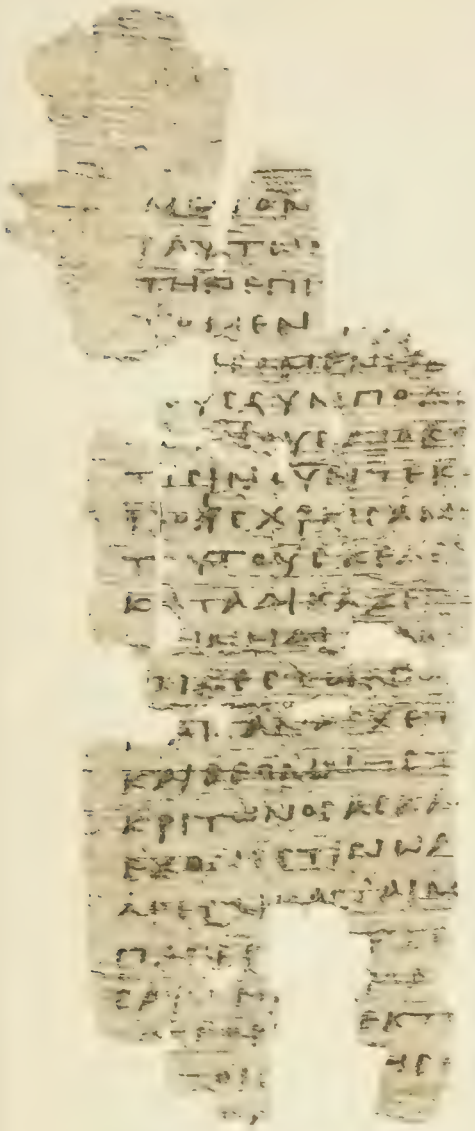

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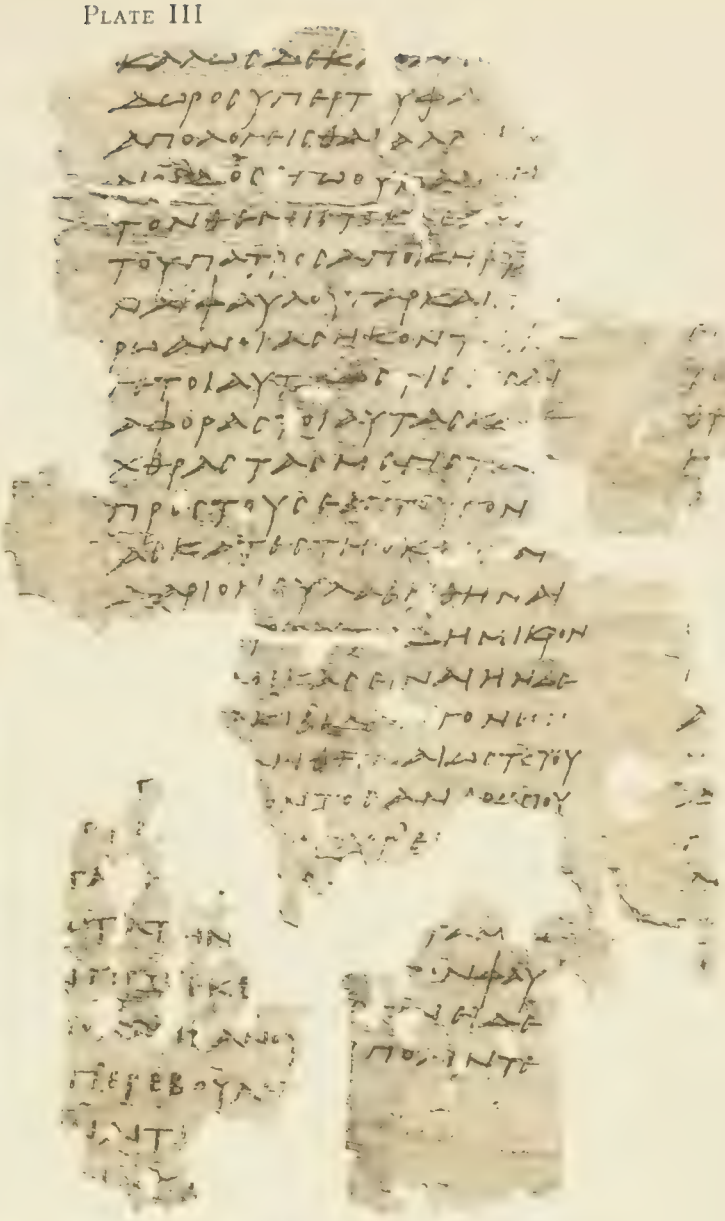

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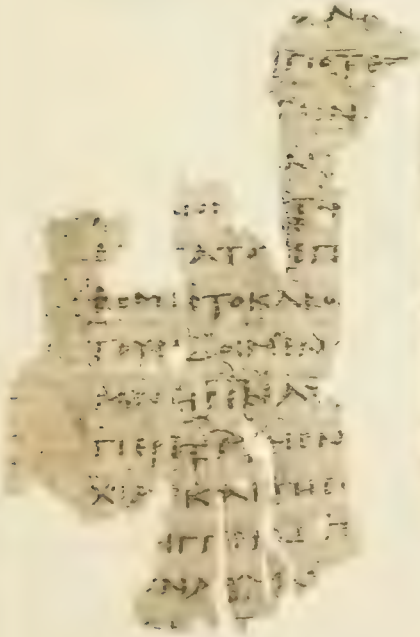

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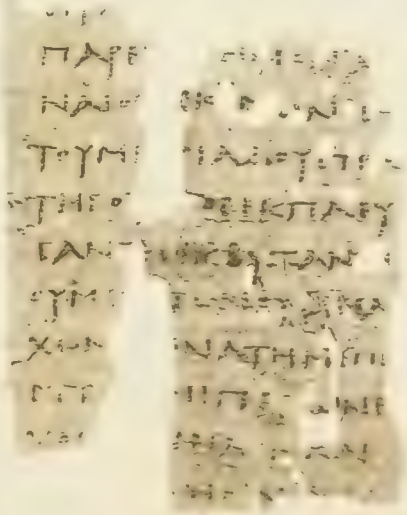

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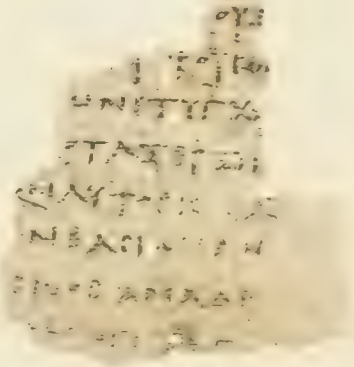

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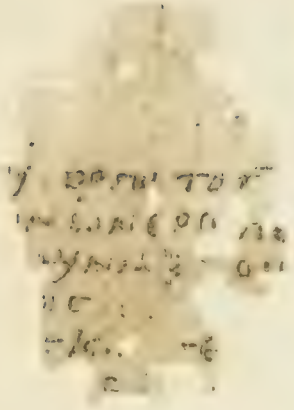

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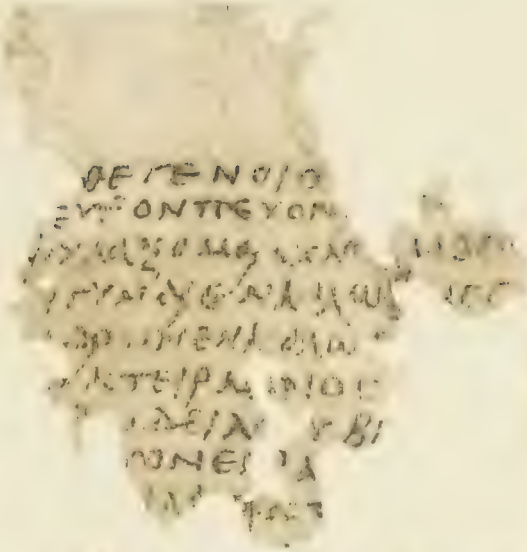
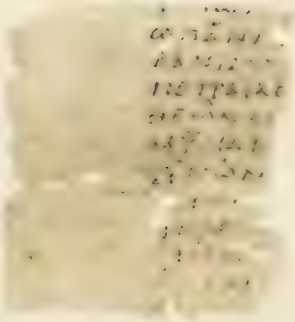
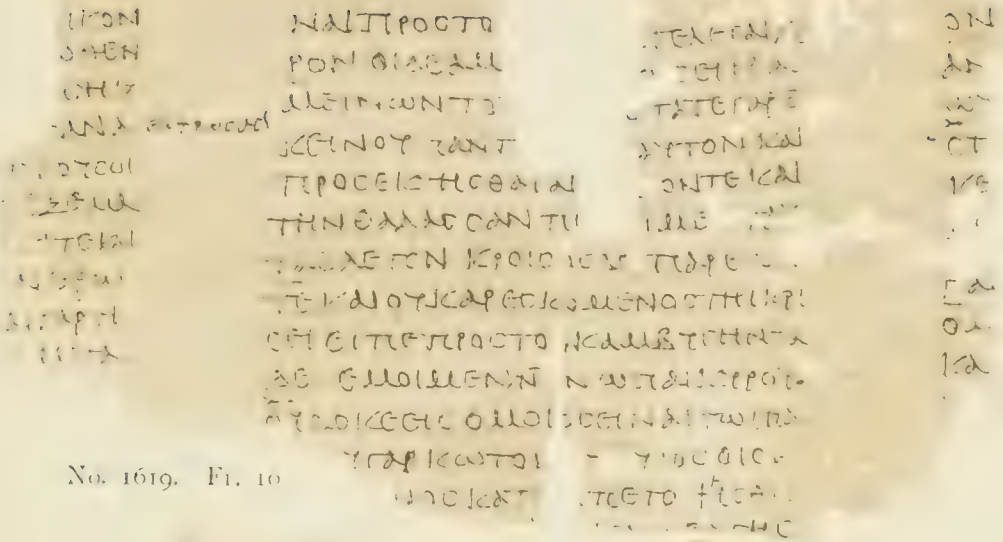




No. 1615 *recto*

No 1622. Cols. ii-iii



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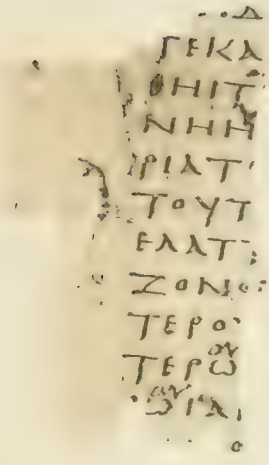

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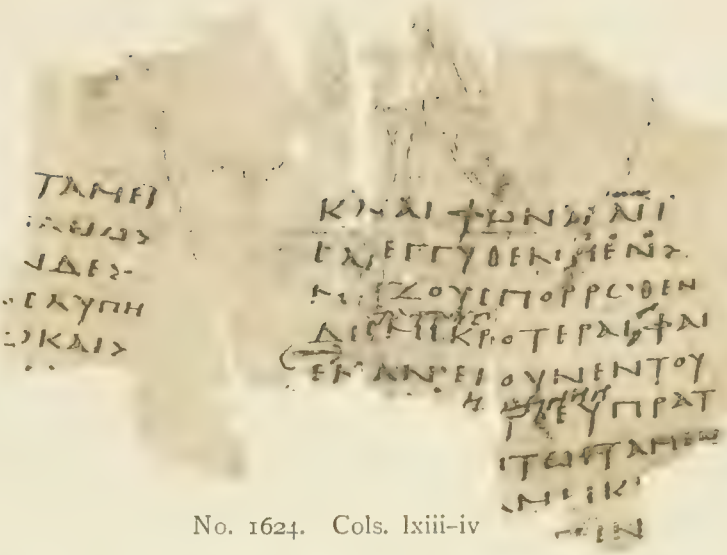

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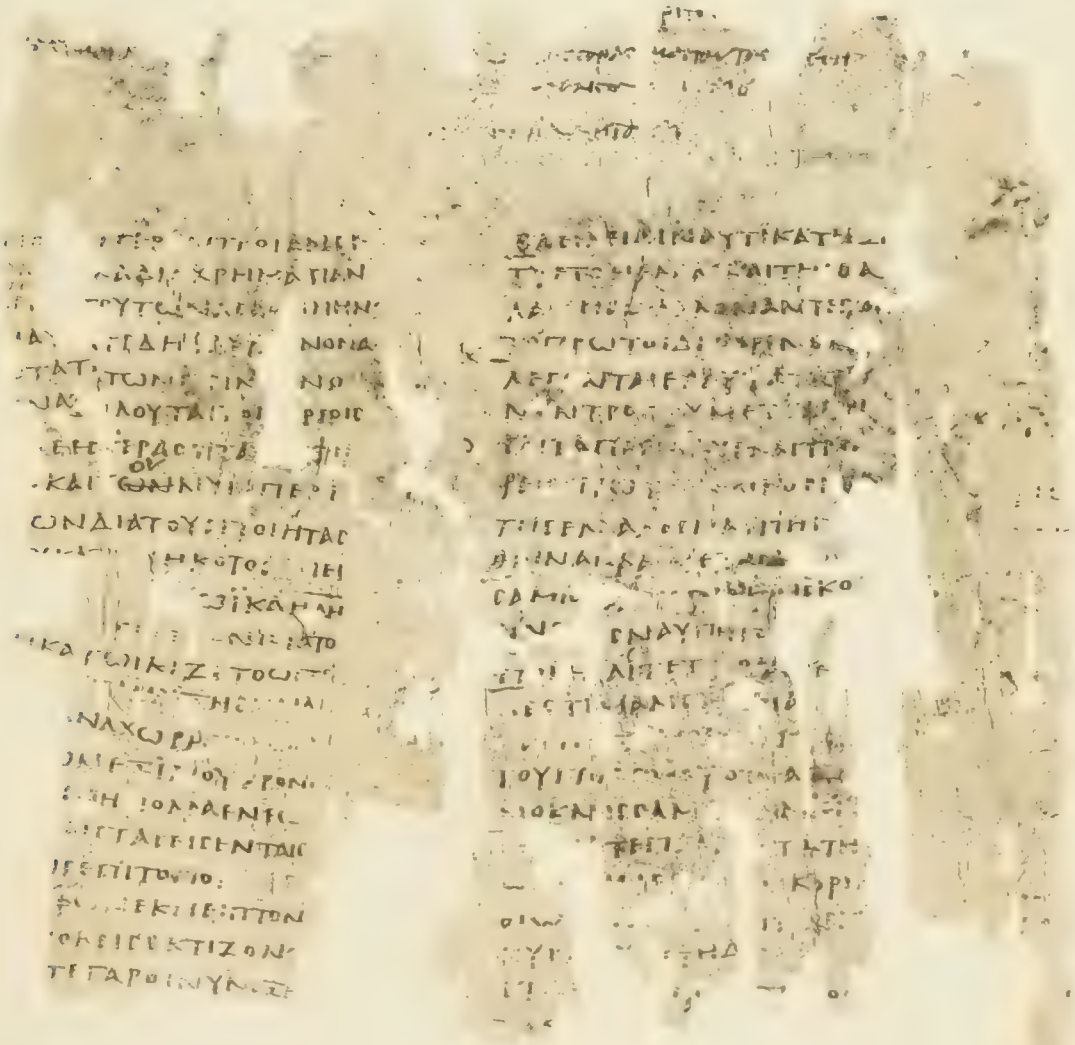

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